

MILTON AND GIOVANNI DIODATI

by

Ernest J. Green

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MILTON AND GIOVANNI DIODATI

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MILTON AND GIOVANNI DIODATI

by

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Approved, August 21, 1931

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4. M.

PREFACE

The selection of this subject for a thesis was not an accident; but was due to my interest as a student and teacher of Milton, and my desire to know more of Milton in his relation to his contemporaries, particularly those whom he knew personally and studied, and who might have touched his life and influenced his thought. Among those on the Continent was Giovanni Diodati, eminent Genevese theologian.

In attempting to establish an intellectual relationship and possible influence between Milton and Diodati, the prose works of Milton have been used as well as the poetry, for here we find those fundamental convictions which are represented in his poetry. In his poetry Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes have been studied for similarities of interpretation. In the prose works Milton's doctrine of Free-Obedience in the Conflict of Evil and Good, and his interpretation of Election have been treated with an attempt to interpret the thought of Diodati on this tenet. A brief study was made of the prose works in which were found a number of direct references to Diodati by Milton.

The life of Milton has been treated only to establish his relationship with the Diodati family; while it was thought best to treat the life of Diodati more fully, as he is not generally known. Material on his life and work is limited, and for this reason the work itself has been the chief source of interpretation.

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My subject was approved by Dr.A.H.Gilbert of Duke University, whose work as teacher and critic I wish to acknowledge with sincere appreciation.

I feel that I have at least opened up a new field of study which offers an opportunity for more extensive exploration.

E.J.G.

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MILTON'S THEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION
Milton's Theological Knowledge

Giovanni Diodati was not only a distinguished professor of theology and an eloquent preacher, but was also one of the most learned commentators on the Bible of the century in which he lived. His translation of the Bible into Italian was the most esteemed of his works, and had the approbation of the most learned men of the age, among whom were Duplessis-Mornay, Fra Paolo Sarpi, Sir Henry Wooten and others. Frederigo Spanheim, called by some the greatest scholar of his age, gave a just apology in favor of Diodati.

He had as friend Theodore Beza, a fellow-student of Calvin and his successor as Rector of the Genevese Academy, who knew the talents of Diodati. In his last days Beza was relieved by Diodati of some of his class work.

Diodati became the logical leader of the liberal movement against the yoke of Rome, fitted for this by his theological knowledge, ^I christian zeal and labors on the Bible.

The work by which he was best known in England was his Annotations on the Bible, the third edition of which was translated into English in 1651. This work was very popular in England, and many of the notes on the Bible, called the " Assembly of Divines' I Annotations ", were taken from Diodati literally.

That Milton was influenced in his Biblical thinking by the ² commentators is accepted by recognized authorities on Milton. Gilbert further says, " Of all Milton's sources the Commentaries were ³ probably the most helpful." This is further confirmed by Hanford who says:

On the question of the sources and affiliations of Milton's thought much has been written. The subject still awaits, however, definite treatment at the hands of a competent historian of philosophy. Milton's mind had ranged through the whole realm of speculation. Ancient philosophy, Biblical and Patristic thought, Reformation theology in all its varieties, the philosophic movements and religious heterodoxies of his own day-all were familiar to him and from them he culled the elements of his own eclectic system. One distrusts the attribution of his fundamental ideas to the influence of any

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Alexander Chalmers, Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary, I2.105-7.

2

A.H. Gilbert, The Temptation in "Paradise Regained", p.3:

As a scholarly student of the Bible, Milton was familiar with the best commentaries. The earliest life of the poet reports that ' besides his ordinary lectures out of the Bible and the best commentaries on the week day, that was his sole subject on Sunday's (Of Education, etc., by John Milton, ed. Laura E. Lockwood, Riverside Literature Series, p. xxxvi.) Many of his prose writings mention theologians and commentators, he was especially familiar with (Calvin, Bucer, Pareus, etc.); especially the Treatise on Christian Doctrine refers to them, as in Book 2, Chapter 7. In Milton's time even more than to-day a theologian was of necessity a close student of the Bible, and hence a student and writer of commentaries; for theology was much more than at present a matter of the subtle interpretations of proof-texts.

3

Ibid.

single source. Here are some of the men or schools whose intellectual relationship with Milton has been most strongly advocated: Bernardino Ochino, Jakob Boehme, The Cabalists, Henry More and the Cambridge Platonists, Giordano Bruno, Michael Servetus, the Quakers. Not one of these is mentioned in the De Doctrina Christiana, which, nevertheless, lists dozen of standard theologians.¹

To this he adds, "In his interpretation of the several temptations, moreover, Milton had behind him also a long line of Scriptural commentary by eminent divines with whose work he was familiar. This material deserves to be carefully explored by Milton students."²

This intellectual relationship between Milton and the eminent divine commentators on the Scriptures seems to be further confirmed by what Milton himself and Milton scholars have said. In his prose works Milton says:

I entered upon an assiduous course of study in my youth, beginning with the books of the Old and New Testament in their original languages, and going diligently through a few of the shorter systems of divines, in imitation of whom I was in the habit of classing under certain heads whatever passages of Scripture occurred for extraction, to be made use of hereafter as occasion might require.³

On this Hanford says:

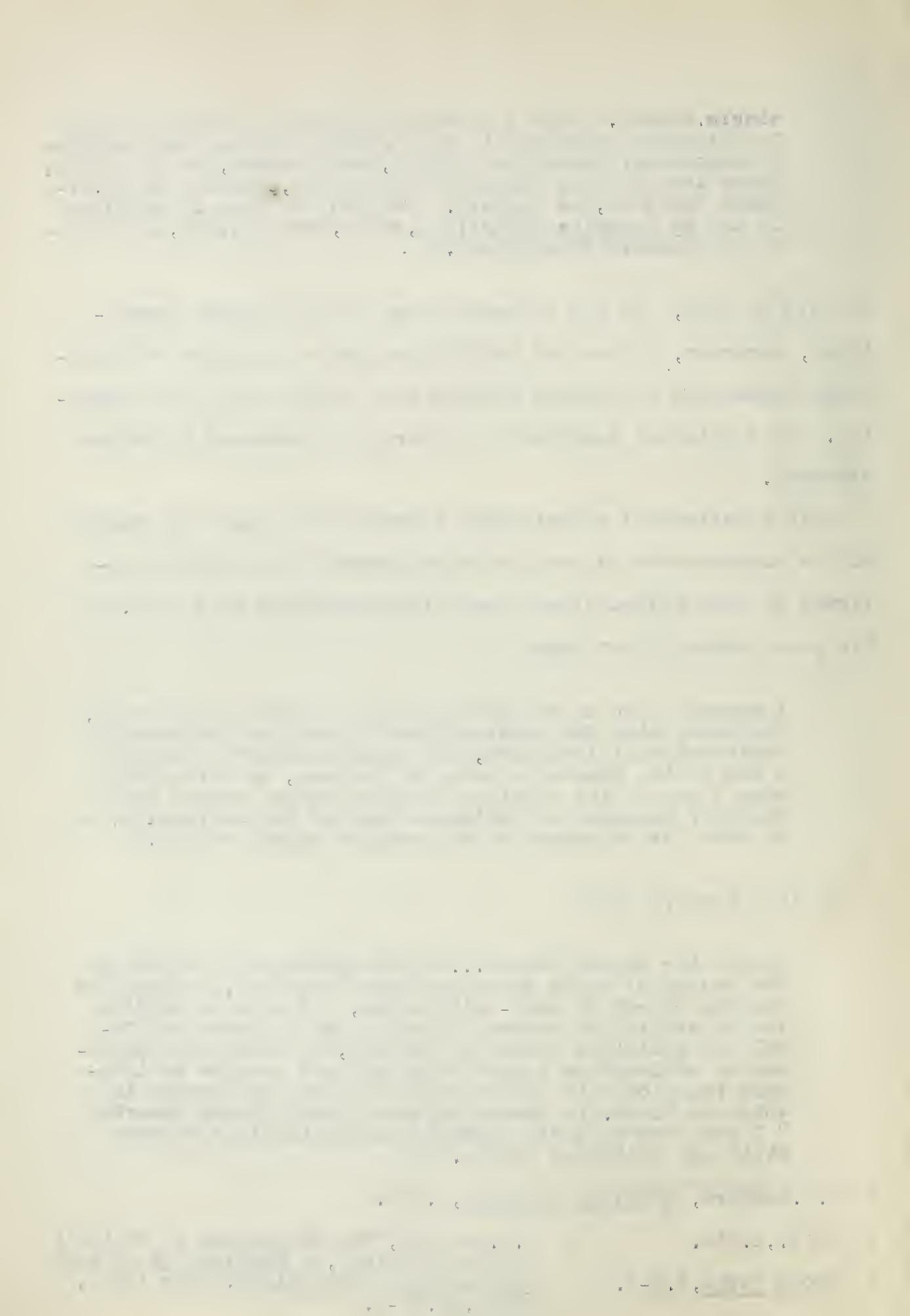
During the Horton period...Milton maintained in pursuing the course of study which has been described, besides the general object of self-cultivation, a desire to acquire the materials for correct thinking on the large political and religious issues of the age, for Milton contemplated no activity as a poet which did not involve an intimate relation with the currents of life and thought in which he lived. In Second Defense (1654) Milton remarks: "I had from my youth studied the distinctions between civil and religious rights."⁴

1 J.H. Hanford, A Milton Handbook, p. 185.

2 Ibid., p. 214.

3 Prose Works, 4.2-3.

4 J.H. Hanford, "The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies", in Publication of Modern Language Association, (June 1921), xxxvi, pp. 88-9.



As to the theological books that Milton may have had access to Masson says, " Theological books of which we know little or nothing would then be in high esteem in an English Puritan family." ^I

Gilbert says relative to Milton's assertion that his theological treatise was based on Scripture:

This assertion should not be taken absolutely, for Milton is indebted for both material and method to theological and philosophical predecessors. However he has not blindly accepted the opinions of any one, but has taken only such suggestions as were in harmony with his own thought and his own interpretation of the Scripture.²

Fletcher in speaking of Milton's Semitic studies has the following to say:

As noted in an earlier chapter, Milton displayed a peculiar interest in, and knowledge of, sixteenth-century Semitic scholars, especially those connected with Cambridge. As I have pointed out elsewhere, he definitely mentioned Martin Bucer, Paulus Fagius, Tremellius, and the famous French translator of the Bible, Vatablus. Each of these scholars, provided that he knew their works-and Milton's mere mention of an author usually implies that-would have taken him a long way into Semitic scholarship and Semitic reading.³

Fletcher says here that for Milton to make mere mention of a scholar implies that he knew his works. Later he mentions Diodati:

The mention of Vatablus serves as an indication that the field of Biblical translation was particularly well known to him, for with Vatablus mentioned, Milton is known to have been familiar with the translation of the Bible into the three most important languages of his time: The ⁴ English, the Italian of Diodati, and the French of Vatablus.

I

1 David Masson, The Life of John Milton, I.88-9.

2 A.H. Gilbert, "The Problem of Evil in Paradise Lost," J. E. G. P. xxii, (April 1923) p.179.

3 Harris Francis Fletcher, Milton's Semitic Studies, pp.90-1.

4 Ibid., p.92.

He then says further:

...the Bible and all that was biblical implied for him and his age the whole adumbrated mass of commentary, redaction, and exegesis, whether Jewish or gentile, which had become directly attached to the text of the Scriptures.¹

In the prose works this observation is made:

...not that he undervalued the Fathers, for in the course of his argument he alludes to the opinions of several, and frequently with commendation; nor does he refuse to notice the criticisms of modern commentators, among whom Beza, whose interpretations he often follows, seems to have been a special favourite.²

Among these commentators with whose work Milton was familiar and whose commentaries were probably the most helpful of all Milton's sources, Diodati was well known and held in high esteem. Milton probably knew of him first through his intimate friendship with Charles Diodati. Later Milton visited him at Geneva on his Italian journey, when he held daily conferences with him. Milton made direct references to Diodati and his work in his Prose Works, and placed him with the noted divines. Diodati's work was well thought of by some of the most learned scholars of his time; and it is very probable that Milton had him often in mind in his interpretation of the Scriptures.

I

Ibid., p. II3.

2

C.R. Sumner, The Prose Works of John Milton, 4. p. xxiii, Preliminary Observations.

MILTON'S RELATION TO THE DIODATI FAMILY

CHAPTER II

Milton's Relation to the Diodati Family

There was a close relation of friendship between Milton and the Diodati Family. Milton in his youth became the intimate friend of Charles Diodati, nephew of Giovanni Diodati, and this friendship continued through their college days and the years following until the death of Charles. Through this friendship Milton doubtless knew of the learned uncle, and it may have been that he met Giovanni on his visit to England. It is certain that Milton visited him on his Italian journey at Geneva, where for sometime he was daily in his society.

It is partly through this intimate relationship with the Diodati Family that an intellectual relationship is established between Milton and Diodati.

I Ancestry of the Diodati Family

Diodati, as the name indicates, was of Italian extraction. A family of Diodatis is found in Lucca in 1300. For two centuries they furnished the Republic its chief Magistrate. In the sixteenth century Michele Diodati, then Gonfaloniere of Luca, married Anna Buonvisi, by whom he had a large family. His third son, Carolo Diodati,

I. See chart, Appendix A.

turned openly Protestant; and, driven from France by the St. Bartholomew Massacre of 1572, he settled in Geneva, a refuge for Italian Protestants. By his second wife, Marie Mei, he had four sons, of whom the third was Jean or Giovanni, born in 1576. Jean attained European celebrity as the famous Genevese theologian.

The second son was Theodore Diodati, born in 1574. He chose medicine for his profession and in early life came over to England, where he married an English woman of means and became a distinguished physician. He lived in London where he had an extensive practice among persons of rank. Not only as brother of the great Genevese divine, but on his own account he was much respected and of considerable social mark among the Londoners. By his English wife he had two sons—John, named after his distinguished uncle, and Charles, probably named after his grandfather Carolo, Protestant refugee from Lucca.

Friendship of Milton and Charles Diodati

Charles Diodati was born in 1609 and was therefore nearly the same age of Milton. He was a school-fellow of Milton's at St. Paul's, and between them existed a most affectionate intimacy. The sincere affection of this friendship is shown in some of Milton's letters. He calls Diodati, "pectus amans nostri, tamque fidele caput," and again, "Lapidum Sodalem" ("sprightly companion"). On another occasion when Diodati had asked for some verses as proof of his affection, Milton protested that his love was too great for metre. While at St. Paul's Milton must have been in the home of the Italian physician and well acquainted with the whole family. It was here that he probably met Giovanni Diodati while on his

I

David Masson, The Life of John Milton, I. 98 ff.

visit to England. There was in this home too no doubt a copy of Diodati's Bible and his Annotations on the Bible, which would have attracted the attention of this brilliant young scholar.

Though separated in their college days, Milton having gone to Cambridge and Diodati to Oxford, they corresponded and met during their vacations. Two Greek letters of Diodati's to Milton further reveal their intimacy. One written during their vacation tells of a holiday excursion they had planned together, that they might regale each other with philosophical and learned discourses. The other written probably from Cheshire after Charles' graduation, complains of Milton's devoting too much time to his books, and ^I longs for the companionship of a kindred spirit.

Following these letters were two Elegies:- Elegy I, written to Diodati by Milton during his rustication; Elegy VI, in which he speaks of the Nativity Hymn and sets forth his poetic creed. We have nothing more then until the letters of September, 1637. In one Milton complains of not seeing Diodati and mentions his preparation for his journey. In the other he assures Diodati of his love for one, who 'dares to think, to speak, to be that which the highest wisdom has in every age taught to be the best! He then says that he is letting his wings grow and preparing to fly, and closes with an invitation to Diodati to visit him in his winter quarters.

²
Jerram tells us that:

It was during this journey (in the summer or autumn of 1638) that Diodati died suddenly. The place and circumstances of

his death are alike uncertain; but we know that the sad news did not reach Milton till some time afterwards, as the third Italian sonnet must have been addressed to his friend from Italy about, or more probably after, the actual time of his decease. Prof. Masson argues very plausibly that Milton heard the tidings first from John Diodati, Theological Professor at Geneva, with whom he was staying in June 1639, on his way back to England. But however this may have been, we are sure that grief for the loss of so dear a friend possessed the poet's mind to the temporary exclusion even of those political anxieties which had been the cause of his sudden return. Of this we have evidence not only in the Epitaphium Damonis itself, which, notwithstanding its artificial form and its pastoral conceits, is as true an outburst of the bitterest sorrow as anything of the kind we know, but also a letter in 1647 to Carlo Dati, one of the former friends at Florence (Epit. Dam. I37). After recalling the recollection of their former intimacy, and assuring Dati, of his continued affection, he suddenly refers to the memory of the deceased Diodati, and to the grief he had felt at his death, which only the thought of the unmixed joy he had tasted in the society of his Florentine companions could in any way alleviate.¹

Milton's visit to Lucca, the ancestral home of the Diodati family, is evidence that Charles was still in his mind during his sojourn abroad. Masson says that he visited Lucca no doubt on account of its connexion with Diodati. He probably learned first of Charles' death when he reached Geneva, where he visited Giovanni Diodati. On his return to England he made immortal their friendship by his Epitaphium Damonis. We close this brief study of their friendship with quotations from this elegy:

I

Ibid.

The letter to Carlo Dati referred to here is given in the Appendix; and also the Greek letters of Charles Diodati to Milton, and Milton's Letters of 1637 to Charles.

2

Masson, op.cit., p. 771.

Epitaphium Damonis

At mihi quid tandem fiet modo ? quis mihi fidus
 Haerebit lateri comes, ut tu saepe solebas
 Frigoribus duris, & per loca foeta pruinis,
 Aut avidos terrere lupos praesepibus altis;
 Quis fando sopire diem, cantuque solebit?

11.37-43.

Pectora cui credam? quis me lenire docebit
 Mordaces curas, quis longam fallere noctem
 Dulcibus alloquifis, grato cum sibilat igni
 Molle pyrum, & nucibus strepitat focus, at malus auster
 Miscet cuncta foris, & desuper intonat ulmo.

11.45-49.

Aut aestate, dies medio dum vertitur axe,
 Cum Pan aesculea somnum capit abditus umbra,
 Et repetunt sub aquis sibi nota sedilia nymphae.
 Pastoresque latent, stertit sub sepe colonus,
 Quis mihi blanditiasque tuas, quis tum mihi risus,
 Cecropiosque sales referet, cultosque lepores?

11.51-56.

At jam solus agros, jam pascua solus oberro,
 Sicubi ramosae densantur vallibus umbrae,
 Hic serum expecto,

11.58-60.

Vix sibi quisque parem de millibus invenit unum,
 Aut si sors dederit tandem non aspera votis,
 Illum inopina dies qua non speraveris hora
 Surripit, aeturnum linquens in saecula damnum.

11.108-II.

Ut te tam dulci possem caruisse sodale,
 Possem tot maria alta, tot interponere montes,
 Tot sylvas, tot saxa tibi, fluviosque sonantes.
 Ah certe extremum licuisset tangere dextram,
 Et bene compositos placide morientis ocellos,
 Et dixisse vale, nostri memor ibis ad astra.

11.118-23.

Ah quoties dixi, cum te cinis ater habebat,
 Nunc canit, aut lepori nunc tendit retia Damon,
 Vimina nunc texit, varios sibi quod sit in usus;

11.142-44.

nisi te quid forte retardat
 Imus? & arguta paulum recubamus in umbra,
 11.147-48.

Quasque habet ista palus herbas, artesque medentum,
 1.152.

Haec tibi servabam lenta sub cortice lauri,
Haec, & plura simul,

ll. 180-81.

Ite procul lacrymae, purum colit aethera Damon
Aethera purus habet, pluvium pede reppulit arcum;
ll. 203-4.

Quod tibi purpureus pudor, & sine labe Juventus
Grata fuit, quod nulla tori libata voluptas,
En etiam tibi virginei servantur honores;
Ipse caput nitidum cinctus rutilante corona,
Letaque frondentis gestans umbracula palmae
Aeternum perages immortales hymenaeos; I

ll. 212-7.

Milton's visit to Giovanni Diodati

Masson in writing of this visit says:

As if delighting in a breath of fresh Protestant theology after so long a time in the Catholic atmosphere of Italy, Milton spent a week or two, if not more, in Geneva. The Swiss City still maintained its reputation as the great continental seat of Calvinistic Protestantism. Since Calvin, there had been a series of ministers in the Churches of Geneva, and of Professors in her University, keeping up the faith and the discipline established at the Reformation. At the time of Milton's visit there were several such men, celebrated over the Calvinistic world beyond Geneva, and especially among the French Protestants and Puritans of England. The eldest Turretin was dead, but he had been succeeded in the chair of theology by the learned German, Frederick Spanheim (1600-1649), who had studied in Geneva in his youth, and had held there, since 1627, the professorship of Philosophy. Another theology professor and city preacher was Theodore Tranchin (1582-1657) who married Beza's granddaughter, and had been previously professor of Hebrew, and one of the Genevese deputies to the Synod of Dort.... But the man in Geneva of greatest note, and most interesting to Milton, on private as well as on public grounds, was Dr. Jean or Giovanni Diodati, the uncle of his dead friend Charles. Besides his celebrity as professor of theology, city preacher, translator of the Bible into Italian, and author of various theological works, Dr. Diodati became a special celebrity as instructor of young men of rank sent from various parts of Europe to board in his house. About the year 1639 not a few young foreigners of distinction were pursuing their studies in Geneva, among whom one finds Charles Gustavus, afterwards King of Sweden, and several princes of German Protestant houses; and some of these appear to have been among Diodati's private pupils at the time of Milton's visit to Geneva. If Milton himself was not quartered in Diodati's

house during his visit, - the house on the South bank of the lake, two miles out of the city, which has retained its name of the Villa Diodati to this day, and was tenanted in 1816 by Lord Byron, - he must at all events, have been there often. "At Geneva", he says, "I was daily in the society of John Diodati, the most learned "Professor of Theology." It is likely enough that it was from the Genevese Professor that Milton received the first definite intelligence of the time and the circumstances of the death of poor Charles Diodati in London.¹ The Cordogni Album fixes his stay here as late as June 10, 1639.²

Milton in speaking of this visit says in his Second Defence of the English People, "At Geneva I held daily conferences with John Diodati, the learned professor of Theology."³

Pattison in speaking of this visit says:

The month of April was spent at Venice, and bidding farewell to the beloved land he would never visit again, Milton passed the Alps to Geneva.

No Englishman's foreign pilgrimage was complete without touching at this marvellous capital of the reformed faith, which with almost no resources had successfully braved the whole night of the Catholic reaction. The only record of Milton's stay at Geneva is the album of a Neapolitan refugee, to which Milton contributed his autograph, under date 10th June, 1639, with the following quotation:-

If virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her.

(From Comus.)

Coelum non animum muto, dum trans mare curro.

(From Horace.)

But it is probable that he was a guest in the house of one of the leading pastors, Giovanni Diodati, whose nephew Charles, a physician commencing practice in London, was Milton's bosom friend.⁴

I

Spon, Histoire de Geneva, I.506 et seq. H.V.
Leti, Historia Genevina, 5.134, 135. H.V.

2

Op.cit., pp.831-3.

3

J.A. St. John, The Prose Works of John Milton, I.257.

4

Mark Pattison, Milton, p.40.

Pattison here fixes the date of Milton's leaving Venice for Geneva at the first of May, 1639. According to the Album he was in Geneva about six weeks, for Milton's autograph is dated June 10th 1639; and during this time Milton tells us that he was in daily conference with Giovanni Diodati. It is very probable that the brilliant scholar Milton during these days discussed with the famous theologian many things pertaining to their faith. That these discussions may have influenced Milton in his thought on some of his theological tenets is quite possible.

Life of Giovanni Diodati

Carolo Diodati, father of Giovanni Diodati, was baptized by Pope Paul III with Charles V as god-father. He was however the original Protestant refugee from Lucca to Geneva, going there in 1572. In speaking of him Masson says:

This old grandfather, it appears, was alive as late as 1625, to take interest not only in his various Genevese descendants, but also in the English offshoots from him through his son Dr. Theodore. Communications had been kept up, at all events, between the London Diodatis and their Genevese relatives; the celebrated "Uncle John" (Giovanni) had recently been on a visit to London; and the children of the London physician must have heard much, and learnt to think much, of him in particular, and of his house in Geneva and their unknown cousins there.^I

Giovanni Diodati was born at Geneva, June 3, rd 1576, and was th baptized by Niccolas Balbani on the 6. His talent and the justness of his thoughts attracted his parents' attention early. Added to this was an inclination towards serious studies, and his education was directed toward preparation for the ministry.

He followed courses at the Genevese Academy, where Beza, Cornelio, Bonaventura, Casaubon and others taught. Diodati made rapid progress in philological studies; before the age of nineteen he was raised to the dignity of Doctor in Theology. Soon he was given the chair of Casaubon, and two years later he was made Professor of Hebrew. In the last years of Beza, in order to relieve him of some of the burdens which his advanced age brought upon him, Giovanni Diodati was authorized to give lessons for him, thus sharing the burden, a very honorable charge for so young a man, with Professor La Faye.

He was consecrated, by the imposition of hands, in 1608. He had delayed this against the solicitation of the pastors, in a spirit of true humility. Before, he had translated the Bible, presenting his Italian version in 1603 to the community of pastors. He further desired that the Reformation should take up its abode in the land where it had had its birth; his fellow-countrymen, persecuted by the intolerance of Rome, sought an asylum in Geneva.

December 10, 1600, he married Maddalena Burlamacchi, in the Italian Church at Geneva. His marriage did not make him forget Italy, where he desired to propagate the Reformation.

Venice offered the greatest guarantee of liberty and became the field of work of those opposed to the yoke of Rome. Among the liberal spirits as leaders were Fra Paolo Sarpi, author of "Council of Kent," Father Fulgenzio, and the English Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton. Diodati became the logical leader of this movement in Venice. His Italian origin, theological knowledge,

Christian zeal, labors on the Bible, all fitted him for this leadership.

Duplessis-Mornay, his illustrious friend, called him the key of this matter; and in attempting the spiritual liberation of Venice, no one showed greater ardor or more disinterested sentiments than he, and none knew as he did how to unite the most energetic means with prudence.

He carried on active correspondence while translating the Bible, and did every thing to enlighten and prepare pastors to be capable of helping him. In 1605 he founded at Venice an assembly for instructing the weak and encouraging the most advanced in faith.

His letters to Duplessis-Mornay and Sir Henry Wotton before going to Venice show his zeal and high hope for the triumph of liberty over religious intolerance; for he found there great animosity against the Pope, and a desire for enlightenment and a knowledge of the truth. However after studying events he found that the disposition to separate from Rome was based on hatred for Rome rather than evangelical conviction. He therefore returned to Geneva to prepare for a new attempt.

In 1605 he lost his venerable friend, Professor Theodore Beza, a teacher who knew the talents of Diodati.

The doctrines of the Reformation were taking root and developing more and more in Italy. The Republic of Venice had been excommunicated by the Pope Pius V. for taking certain measures which he held unlawful in the interests of the church; and this was cause of grave enmity against Rome. The partisans of the

Court of Rome diminished day by day. Venetians became habituated to excommunication, and they despised the thunder-bolts of the Holy Father. They were convinced that, whenever the Church usurped the right of government in the name of religion, it abused religion. Fra Paolo Sarpi by a manifesto demolished maxims of the Holy See. He certified many in Venice who preserved knowledge of the true God. Many found in research gross errors of the Catholic Church, however they waited without acting. De Liques report shows secret meetings, and some move toward a freer service of God; of these favorable changes Diodati was informed.

Diodati was invited by Sir Henry Wotton to return to Venice to begin a form of secret Congregation, which he accepted in September 1608 attempting to establish the Reform doctrines in Venice. Diodati was aided in this by Wotton and Sarpi; however it ended in the assassination of Henry IV. of France, the interception of letters by the Jesuits, the recall of Sir Henry Wotton, all of which arrested the Italian Reformation.

Diodati saw all hope for Italy vanish. Letters from his beloved companions in action were the only balm to his sorrow. They were from the most illustrious Protestant men of France and Germany, and gave Diodati much praise. By some however he was accused of personal ambition. This was an unjust charge; the ambition which inspired him was to see the light dispersing the darkness of ignorance and of error; the princes of the earth dedicating themselves to the advancement of the Kingdom of God; to see souls asleep in darkness awaking to the light of the Gospel; the

seditious preaching of the Jesuits replaced by the true doctrines of the Bible; the idols of Catholicism fallen to the ground, and Italy freed from the shackles of Rome; such was his personal ambition.

His trust was born of his faith; and he dedicated all his gifts of the spirit to the advancement of Christianity. This dedication of the spirit breathes in his words to Duplessis-Mornay, "I would be very careful not to place the least obstacle to the free action of the Holy Spirit, whether from incapacity or fear of danger. I am convinced that God, who beyond my hopes and unknown to me, has employed me in the work of His Scriptures, at this very time for this great purpose and with happy success, as the judgment of many learned men assures me, and yours amongst them, will also give me words of power, and wisdom, if necessary, for service in these places to advance His Kingdom, and the destruction of the great Babylon."

Hopeless now of the liberty of the Gospel in Venice, Diodati turned his activities toward France, Holland, and Geneva, his adopted country. It was probably Geneva that saved the cause of the Reformation. After the murder of Henry IV. Geneva was threatened by the Duke of Savoy; however the King of England became interested against him and the project was abandoned. Diodati went to France seeking aid for Geneva, and while there he furthered the doctrines of the Reformation.

In Holland Arminius, a professor of Leyden, published his teachings on Predestination, which were contrary to those of Calvin; while the Calvinistic doctrines were maintained by

Gomaro, also professor of Leyden. A partisan fight followed and the Assembly at Dordrecht opened Nov. 21st, 1618 to settle the dispute.

Geneva, having declared itself against Arminius, sent Diodati and Tranchi to the Assembly. They according to their own convictions and instructions condemned the Arminian doctrines and gained fame for their wisdom and talents with which they maintained their opinions. Diodati was chosen to compile the Acts of the Assembly, which he did to the satisfaction of all proving the Arminian doctrine contrary to the word of God. In this France, Holland, England, Germany and Switzerland joined, claiming that it annulled the election of grace and made man the arbiter of his own salvation.

Diodati continued to preach with effect in Holland; however he did not forget Italy, continuing to give his beloved country the strength of his great personality and the wisdom of his counsel.

Diodati was not only a distinguished professor of theology, and an eloquent preacher, but also one of the most learned commentators on the Bible of the century in which he lived. His translation of the sacred Books into Italian is the most esteemed of his works both for its literary merits and because it met the deepest needs of the time. It was begun in 1603 and was published in 1607, two editions following. Then followed the New Testament to assist in the reform in Venice. The most learned men of the age approved his Italian version. It was praised by Duplessis-Mornay, Fulgenzio, Wotton and others. Even his severest critics said he was the most

faithful translator of his own or preceding times. Spanheim, one of the greatest scholars of his age, gave a just apology in favor of Diodati.

Diodati sent a copy of his Bible to a learned Genevese in England, Isaac Casaubon. In acknowledging the receipt of this gift he says: "When I answered your letter of June, 1608, O illustrious Diodati, I had not received the truly divine gift you have sent me. Thus I thanked you as one who had not seen and who had not satiated his thirst with profound reading of it, as I have done since then. And truly as I cast my eyes here and there over your version and your precious notes, I was so surprised that I resolved to make a fuller acquaintance with the whole work, and to make it a special study... in as much as I have proved what great profit I shall derive from your version and your notes."

Fidelity, clearness, the theological value of the notes and comments, are the excellences which distinguish the version of Diodati.

I

His commentary was published in 1635. The title page to the fourth English edition published in 1664 reads as follows:

PIOVS
Annotations
Vpon the Holy
BIBLE
Expounding the
difficult places
thereof
Learnedly & plainly
By the
Reverend, Learned &
and Godly Diuine, M: John
Diodati, Minister of the
Gospell
The Fourth Edition
London
Printed for Nico-
las Fussell, 1664²

His Annotations on the Bible were esteemed highly and were very popular in England.

His translation of the Bible into French, was published in 1644. The title page reads: La Sainte Bible, traduite en francais, avec des notes par Jean Diodati, Geneva 1644. This translation was not as popular as the Italian translation. However a copy was sent to Cardinal Richelieu, and he accepted it with approbation.

Diodati translated the History of the Council of Trent in 1620. The author of this book was Fra Paolo Sarpi, and it was first published in London in Italian in 1619. The title page of Diodati's translation reads: Sarpi (Fra Paolo). Histoire du concile de Trente, traduit par Jean Diodati. Geneve, 1635. His relation of this great ecclesiastical debate has the impress of the most exact truth. He delighted in giving to French readers a work which had for its aim the unmasking of the illusions of the Roman Catholics; and throwing light on the intrigues of the Vatican, the fraudulent motives of the Church of Rome for opposing the reform of abuses, the uncertainty of the teachings of the fathers, the inopportune and ill arranged decisions and scandalous discords of the prelates; and the evasions, the artifices, the deceits and acts of violence used by the priests to conquer or avoid all difficulties. The title page bearing the date of 1635 is of a later edition.

Diodati also translated the work of Edwin Sandys into French and Italian. This was a report on the state of religion in the ² West. He made a translation of the Psalms into Italian verse, which was published in 1608.

I Gautier, op.cit.

2 See Appendix J.

His writings in Latin are:

- I607. Annotations upon the Bible.
- I620. Of Purgatory, an invention of the Priests.
Of the Word of God, Christ the mediator.
- I622. Of the misery of man, or of sin in general;
Of the call of man to salvation.
- I628. Of the righteous separation of the Reformers
from the Church of Rome.
- I631. Of the Lord's supper.
- I644. Comments and explanations of some terms or
phrases of the Bible.

At the time of the beheading of Charles I. of England, the Council of Geneva requested the Pastors not to speak of it, or make allusions to it in their sermons. Diodati however called the regicides infernal frenetic men, concluding "I have been told not to speak, but I cannot refrain, in as much as it has been audaciously reported that the death of the King was a project which issued from our city." He was censured for this.

Quotation from this sermon in 1649 follows:

Cromwell est un diable; il dirige ces esprits infernaux, fanatiques, anabaptistiques, ..., cette vermouiture, ..., ce bon roi, juste est mort au lit d'honneur non pas des rois, mais de Dieu., ce roi mort martyr. On dit qu'il se faut taire, je ne puis. Nous devrions faire des manifestes pour montrer que nous condamnons cette action, d'autant plus que l'on a voulu dire que les étincelles de ceci viennent de Genève.^I

Diodati died October 13th, 1649. As a citizen he was never influenced by personal consideration. As a preacher he was fearless.

^I Gautier, op.cit.p.312.

He was severe in doctrine and habit and has been called "the Cato of Geneva." He had spirit and judgment in theological discussions. He was devoted to his country and loyal to his church. He was firm yet with an open mind. His fine sensitive spirit was controlled
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by love.

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Maria Betts, Life of Giovanni Diodati, 1905.

The material of the above sketch of the life of Giovanni Diodati was drawn from Betts' Life of Diodati, which had as its source Chiesi's Life of Diodati a translation of Vie de Jean Diodati, Theologien Genevois, 1576-1649, par E. DeBude.

See Appendix G.

PARADISE LOST

CHAPTER III

Paradise Lost

A comparison of Milton's interpretation in his expansion of the Biblical story into the story of Paradise Lost with Diodati's interpretation of the Scriptures as found in his Annotations of the Bible in related places, is given in this chapter to show that Milton had behind his thought a knowledge of the work of this noted commentator; and further to show that in many places they agree in their interpretation. A difference in interpretation however does not argue an ignorance on Milton's part of Diodati's thought, for Milton's method as a scholar was to read everything bearing on what he was trying to do and then to choose that which fitted into what he wanted to represent. The following then is offered with this purpose and with this understanding.

Hierarchies

In the following verses we find something of the angelology of Milton:

God of our Fathers, what is man !
That thou towards him with hand so various,
Or might I say contrarious,
Temperst thy providence through his short course,

Not evenly, as thou rul'st
The Angelic orders...

S.A.667-72.

th' Empyreal Host
Of Angels by Imperial summons call'd,
Innumerable before th' Almighty's Throne
Forthwith from all the ends of Heav'n appeerd
Under thir Hierarchs in orders bright
... and for distinction serve
Of Hierarchies, of Orders, and Degrees;
P.L.5.582-91.

Regions they pass'd, the mightie Regencies
Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
In thir triple Degrees,

P.L.5.745-7.

and his demonology in:

Thrones, Dominations, Prinedomes, Vertues, Powers,
If these magnific Titles yet remain
Not meerly titular, I
P.L.5.769-71.

This was spoken by Satan while yet in heaven, yet it was spoken to his followers as he plans his revolt, and he continued to use these titles after the Fall.

Lockwood apparently gives as the source of Milton's angelology the system of the Pseudo-Dionysius;

"Order, 2. each of the nine ranks or grades into which the angels are divided in the system of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite:"²

Hanford disagrees with this view saying:

Of the medieval writers he naturally made little direct use. His angelology, for example, is not that of the standard Catholic authority, the Pseudo-Dionysius, De coelesti Hierarchia. Milton may or may not have read this work, but he would in any

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H.C. Beeching, The Poetical Works of John Milton,

2 L.E. Lockwood, Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton.

case have been sufficiently familiar with the system from Dante's Divine Comedy. With the works of many Reformation and contemporary scholars he was acquainted...¹

Verity says on this, " This system was deduced, in the main, from St. Paul's words in Ephes. I. 21 and Colos. I. 16."² From the Bible we quote:

Far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come;

Ephes. I. 21.

For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him:

Colos. I. 16.

Diodati says in his Annotations on Ephes. I. 21:

All principality) Not onely worldly, but also Angelical, the angels being called by such names. Rom. 8.38.

On Romans 8.38, he says:

Principalities) these names are often attributed to angels, either good or bad, by reason of the degrees and dignities amongst them, or of the glorious estate of the good ones in heaven; or, by reason of their government over the Empires of the world... Others understand this of the Princes of the world.

Further he says on Colos. I. 16:

Thrones) this name, and those which follow, signify the angelic creatures, together with their degrees and dignities, as well amongst themselves, as

I ² Op.cit.p.194. A.W.Verity, Samson Agonistes, p.95, notes.

over the lower world, and the guiding of it. See Rom. 8.38. Peradventure by Thrones he specially means the cherubims, over which it is often said, that God sits;

And on Ephes. 6.12 he says:

Principalities) hereby are meant evil Angels, who in the quality of their nature, and the power that God suffereth them to have over the world, have yet something common with the holy Angels in the eminency of these titles:

Diodati holds then that these titles were not only worldly titles but that the angels were called by such names; that these names were attributed to both good and bad angels by reason of their degrees and dignities, or the glorious estate of the angels in heaven, or of their government over the Empires of the world. He sets forth also that these titles were held by the evil Angels by virtue of the nature and power God suffered them to have over the world. He has enlarged on the Scriptures cited in these places; and, if we agree with Verity in his view that Milton's system of angelology and demonology was based on the Scriptures at this point, then we can well believe that Milton had Diodati in mind when he thought out this system.

War in Heaven

Milton's War in Heaven is a representation of Satan's sin against God and his condemnation, and with him the fall of the apostate angels.

what time his Pride
Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his Host
Of Rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
To set himself in Glory above his Peers,
He trusted to have equal'd the most High,

If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
 Against the Throne and Monarchy of God
 Rais'd impious War in Heav'n and Battel proud
 With vain attempt.

P.L.1.36-44.

Hanford says that the foundation passage in Scripture for the
 War in Heaven and the fall of Satan is Revelation I2.^I. We have
 from the Bible, Revelations I2.7:

And there was war in heaven: Mi-
 chael and his angels fought against
 the dragon; and the dragon fought
 and his angels,

Diodati interprets war as it appears in the Scriptures as a
 figurative description of the Devil's judgment,

There was War) A figurative description of the
 Devils judgment, renewed by Christ glorified, who hath
 been made the true Michael, viz. Head of the Angels:²

which would suggest the very thing Milton did with his War in Heaven,
 giving to us a picturesque representation of Satan's pride and
 ambition which resulted in his fall and judgment.

Milton represents Satan as having drawn his followers to the
 Mountain of the Congregation secretly and by guile:

For thither he assembl'd all his Train,
 Pretending so commanded to consult
 About the great reception of thir King,
 Thither to come, and with calumnious Art
 Of counterfeted truth thus held thir ears.

P.L.5.764-8.

there to prepare
 Fit entertainment to receive our King
 The great Messiah,

P.L.5.686-8.

and thus he allured them with lies and drew after him the third part of the angelic host:

His count'nance, as the Morning Starr that guides
The starrie flock, allur'd them, and with lyes
Drew after him the third part of Heav'ns Host:

P.L.5.705-7.

In the Bible, Rev. I2.4, we have,

And his tail drew the third part
of the stars of heaven, and did cast
them to the earth:

on which Diodati says; in his Annotations on Rev. I2.4:

His tail) A figurative description of the apostasie
of one part of the Angels, adhering to him who was the
head of it. Now, this Dragon doth not denounce war open-
ly, and, as it were, face to face, but secretly with his tail,

At this place Diodati interprets the tail with which the dragon drew the third part of the stars of heaven and cast them to the earth, as a figurative description of the apostasy of the angels, drawn secretly by the dragon which is Satan.

Again, this would suggest the subtle treachery and deceit of Satan as he gathers his host together to prepare for the reception of their King. Further, he interprets the warfare, not as open warfare, as it were face to face, but a secret conflict. This is just that which Milton wished to do in his War of Heaven, to represent the conflict between good and evil, which was one of his favorite themes, in such a way that it would impress his audience 'fit though few.'

In the verse quoted above Milton fixes the number of the rebel angels at one third part of the heavenly host. This appears again

when Death in conversation with Satan at the gates of Hell asks,

To whom the Goblin full of wrauth reply'd,
 Art thou that Traitor Angel, art thou hee,
 Who first broke peace in Heav'n and Faith, till then
 Unbrok'n, and in proud rebellious Arms
 Drew after him the third part of Heav'ns Sons
 Conjur'd against the highest,

P.L.2.688-93.

and when Satan just before his combat with Abdiel, charging him with sedition, says:

since first that tongue
 Inspir'd with contradiction durst oppose
 A third part of the Gods,

P.L.6.154-56.

While Satan in his passionate soliloquy when viewing the beauty of the Earth just before the temptation, in pardonable exaggeration perhaps fixes the number as well nigh one half, as he tries to find comfort in that he,

in one Night freed
 From servitude inglorious welnigh half
 Th' Angelic Name,

P.L.9.140-42.

Diodati in the quotation above says, ' one part of the angels.' It is probable that Milton had this interpretation in mind when he changed from one third to one half. For, with the interpretation one part rather than one third as is implied in Revelations, Milton could interpret it in the way that best fitted his purposse, and still be in harmony with one of the best commentators. While it is true that Milton was independent in his thinking, at the same time he was careful in following the Scriptures, and might it not have

been that he here has Diodati's interpretation in mind again when he has Satan to fix the number at one half?

The final outcome of the War Milton represents thus,

Him the Almighty Power
 Hurld headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie
 With hideous ruine and combustion down
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
 In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,
 Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.

P .L.I.44-49.

We have the same from the Bible in Rev. I 2.9:

And the great dragon was cast
 out, that old serpent, called the Devil,
 and Satan, which receiveth the whole
 world: he was cast out into the earth,
 and his angels were cast out with him.

Diodati in his Annotations on Jude 6. says:

which kept not) viz. Which did not persevere in the
 state of integrity and righteousness, in which they were
 created. But left) that is, were for their rebellion
 driven out of heaven.

suggesting here again the idea of rebellion and war.

Naming the Apostate Angels

Verity holds that Milton adopted the medieval notion that the deities of heathenism, oriental and classical, were the apostate angels. That such an idea was used by Milton is seen in P.L.I. 357-375:

The Heads and Leaders thither hast where stood
 Their great Commander; Godlike shapes and forms
 Excelling human, Princely Dignities,
 And Powers that earst in Heaven sat on Thrones;

^I
 A.W. Verity, Paradise Lost, Notes, p.100.

Though of their Names in heav'nly Records now
 Be no memorial, blotted out and ras'd
 By thir Rebellion, from the Books of Life.
 Nor had they yet among the Sons of Eve
 Got them new Names, till wandering ore the Earth,
 Through Gods high sufferance for the tryal of man,
 By falsities and lyes the greatest part
 Of Mankind they corrupted to forsake
 God their Creator, and th' invisible
 Glory of him, that made them, to transform
 Oft to the Image of a Brute, adorn'd
 With gay Religions full of Pomp and Gold,
 And Devils to adore for Deities:
 Then were they known to men by various Names,
 And various Idols through the Heathen World.

Milton says here that the Heads and Leaders of the apostate angels lost their names in heaven by their rebellion; and had as yet no new names on Earth, until Mankind, being corrupted by them, adored Devils for Deities. Then it was that they became known by various names and Idols through the Heathen World.

Using this idea then Milton gives to the Arch-Enemy the name of Satan, the Hebrew for 'The Enemy', P.L.I.8I-2:

To whom th' Arch-Enemy,
 And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan,

That he was so called in Heaven implies that he was called Satan after his revolt, for he says:

but not so wak'd
Satan, so call him now, his former name
 Is heard no more in Heav'n;
 P.L.5.654-56.

He is later named by Milton Lucifer, P.L.7.13I-33:

Lucifer from Heav'n
 (So call him, brighter once amidst the Host
 Of Angels, then that Starr the Starrs among)

To the one next Satan in power and crime he gives the name of the God of Ekron, Béélzebub:

One next himself in power, and next in crime,
Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd
Béélzebub.

P.L.I.79-81.

In the Catalogue of Forces we find many of these names given by Milton to the fallen angels, P.L.I.392-490:- Moloch, God of the Ammonites; Chemos, God of the Moabites; Astoreth, Female reflection of the Sun God; Thammuz, Assyrian God; Dagon, God of the Philistines; Rimmon, God of Damascus; Osiris, Isis, Orus, The Egyptian Gods; Belial, Hebrew for Worthlessness, the personification of vice; Mammon, Syriac for Wealth, God of Wealth.

However it would seem that Milton did not bestow these names without some Scriptural foundation. We find it said that the Children of Israel shall no more offer their sacrifices unto the devils, Levit. I7.7:

And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a whoring.

And Jeroboam having driven out the Levites ordained him priests, 2 Chron. II.15:

And he ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had made.

And of the Children of Israel it is said, Ps. I06.37:

Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils,

And Paul says regarding this sacrifice to the devils, I Cor.10.20:

But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils.

Diodati in his interpretation of the Scriptureson these places would seem to sustain Milton in his naming the apostate angels after the Pagan idols and Heathen Deities, for he declares the Devil to be the head of all Idolatry in his Annotations on ICor.10:20:

But I say) These meats are not impure in their own substance, but in the way of using them, which hath its whole relation to the Devil, who is the head of all Idolatry, in which he is also obliquely served,

And he defines Devils as Idols wherein the devil was served under divers names and resemblances, on Lev.17.7 :

Unto Devils) viz. Idols; wherein whether the Idolater have such an intent or no, the Devil was served under divers names and resemblances, he seconding and confirming them in their error.

He interprets Devils as Pagan Idols on 2 Chron.II.15 :

For the Devils) That is, for the Idols, in which the Devils were served, seeing Idolatry is of their invention, and turneth man from God to his contrary, and the service of which the Devil foments, and co-operates thereunto by false Oracles, miracles, and other effectual means of error. From hence it appears that besides the Calves in which Jeroboam pretended (though falsely) to serve the true God, he erected also, or suffered to be erected other Pagan Idols.

Diodati is here interpreting the Devils, who were the apostate angels, as Pagan Idols, that is to say Heathen Deities. From this point of view it is not far to the bestowing of the names of the

heathen deities of later days on the apostate angels after the fall. Milton wanted to name the fallen angels, so why not name them after the Pagan Idols and Deities, for the Scriptures say that they were in the service of the Devils, and Diodati interprets these Idols and Deities as Devils. Milton was no doubt acquainted with the medieval notion regarding the deities of heathenism, but the idea was to be found in the Scriptures and was made very clear by Diodati's interpretation of the Scriptures on this point, and of all Milton's sources the thought of the commentators has probably been the most helpful.

The Chariot of Paternal Deity

In his description of the Chariot of Paternal Deity in which the Son of God went forth to battle, Milton follows closely the Scriptures on Ezekiel's vision, chapter I. It is a mosaic of beauty and shows the hand of a master in adapting the Scriptures to his purpose. For the convenience of the reader we draw the verses from this chapter which are paralleled by Milton's narrative.

4. And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber, out of the midst of the fire.

5. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man.

6. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings.

.....

12. And they went every one straight forward: Whither the spirit was to go,

they went; and they turned not when they went.

.....

16. The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the colour of a beryl: and they four had one likeness: and their appearance and their work was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel.

.....

18. As for their rings, they were so high that they were dreadful; and their rings were full of eyes round about them four.

.....

20. Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went, thither was their spirit to go; and the wheels were lifted up over against them: for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels.

.....

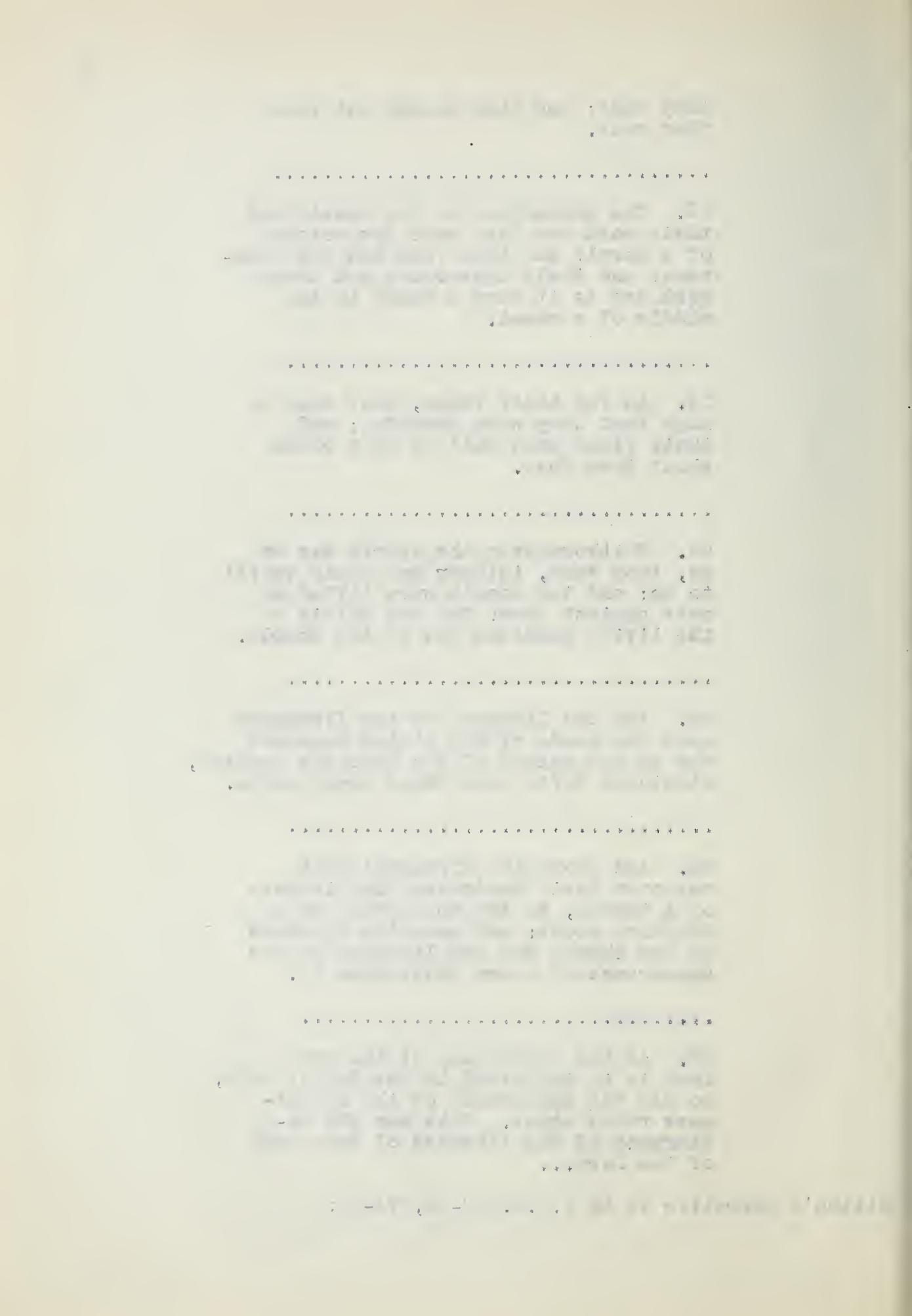
22. And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above.

.....

26. And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it.

.....

28. As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord...



forth rush'd with whirl-wind sound

The Chariot of Paternal Deitie,
 Flashing thick flames, Wheele within Wheele undrawn,
 It self instinct with Spirit, but convoyd
 By four Cherubic shapes, four faces each
 Had wondrous, as with Starrs thir bodies all
 And Wings were set with Eyes, with Eyes the Wheels
 of Beril, and careering Fires between;
 Over thir heads a crystal Firmament,
 Whereon a Saphir Throne, inlaid with pure
 Amber, and colours of the showrie Arch.
 Hee in Celestial Panoplie all armd
 Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
 Ascended, at his right hand Victorie
 Sate Eagle-wing'd, beside him hung his Bow
 And Quiver with three-bolted Thunder stor'd,
 And from about him fierce Effusion rowld
 O f smoak and bickering flame, and sparkles dire;
 . . .

Hee on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
 On the Crystallin Skie, in Saphir Thron'd.

Diodati's interpretation in this place is very illuminating,
 especially on Ezekiel I.15 which we quote:

One wheel) The Ark, which was the figure of
 Gods Throne of glory, is called a Chariot...and the
 heavenly Throne is likewise so described... to teach
 us that God is not shut up in heaven, nor is not idle,
 but moveth, viz. worketh continually by his Spirit and
 power: but in this place it should seem the end of this
 vision is, to shew, that God who maketh a firm residence
 amongst his people, being set as it were upon an immove-
 able Throne... would now depart from thence, converting his
 Throne into a Chariot. Now the meaning of this descrip-
 tion, is, that the Prophet saw one wheel next to each of
 the beasts, so that as there were four beasts, there were
 four wheels, viz. the furniture of a compleat Chariot....

The Ark, the figure of God's Throne of Glory and the heavenly Throne, are both described as a chariot; symbolizing that God is not shut up in heaven, nor is not idle, but moveth, working continually by his Spirit. Therefore though set upon an immovable Throne, yet this Throne is converted into a Chariot when the Spir-

it of God moves . It would seem then that Milton had in mind this interpretation when using the Chariot of P aternal Deity in his representation of the Son of God upon the Throne of Glory going forth to battle for God.

It was on this Chariot it appears that the Son as Creator went forth for the creation of the Universe, P.L.7.218-21:

Nor staid, but on the Wings of Cherubim
Uplifted, in P aternal Glorie rode
Farr into Chaos, and the World unborn;
For Chaos heard his voice:

Golden Compasses

In the beginning of the Creation when the Son made round the Universe, Milton was probably misled in the use of the golden compasses by the authorized version of the Scriptures in Proverbs 8.27:

When he prepared the heavens, I
was there: when he set a compass
upon the face of the depth:

The marginal note here has for compass, a circle; while Milton uses the word in a different sense, P.L.7.224-31:

Then staid the fervid Wheeles, and in his hand
He took the golden Compasses, prepar'd
In Gods Eternal store, to circumscribe
This Universe, and all created things:
One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
Round through the vast profunditie obscure,
And said, thus farr extend, thus farr thy bounds,
This be thy just Circumference, O World.

It may have been that the meaning of compass as an instrument best suited Milton's purpose here. However that may be, it is certain

that he was not following Diodati here on Proverbs 8.27:

I was there) viz. Working with him, as a joyn't,
equal, and co-operating cause,....When he set) viz. When
he gave a round form to the mass of the Elements, yet all
mixed together, called the deep,... which round form re-
mained to the Universe after the Elements were severed.

for evidently he interprets compasses in the sense of a circle
when he says that he gave a round form to the mass of the ele-
ments. However it would have been perfectly natural for Milton
to use the word compass as an instrument when thinking of fix-
ing the circumference of that round form.

Naming Creation

In Milton's narrative God named the great creatures reserved
under his government, while Adam named the ones under his con-
trol:

God names Day and Night, P.L.7.251-52:

Light the Day, and Darkness Night
He nam'd.

God made the Firmament and named it Heaven, P.L.7.263-67, 274:

and God made
The Firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
Transparent, Element Air, diffus'd
In circuit to the uttermost convex
Of this great Round:
.....
And Heav'n he nam'd the Firmament:

He then named the Earth and Seas, P.L.7.307-8:

The dry Land, Earth, and the great receptacle
Of congregated Waters he call'd Seas:

And last he named Man, P.L.7.519:

Let us make now Man in our image,

And P.L.7.524:

This said, he formd thee, Adam, thee O Man

God tells Adam to name all the creatures living in the Earth
that are to pay him fealty, P.L. 8.338-45:

but all the Earth

To thee and to thy Race I give; as Lords
Possess it, and all things that therein live,
Or live in Sea, or Aire, Beast, Fish, and Fowle
In signe whereof each Bird and Beast behold
After thir kindes; I bring them to receave
From thee thir Names, and pay thee fealtie
With low subjection;

Adam names Woman, P.L.8.494-97:

I now see

Bone of my Bone, Flesh of my Flesh, my Self
Before me; Woman is her name, of Man
Extracted;

Milton had as the foundation passage of Scripture for this
naming of the creatures Genesis I,2. That he has paralleled the
Scriptures here is seen from the following quotations from the
Bible:

And God called the Light Day, and
the darkness he called Night.

Gen.I.5.

And God called the firmament
Heaven.

Gen.I.8.

And God called the dry land
Earth; and the gathering together of
the waters called he Seas:

Gen.I.10.

And God said, Let us make
man in our image, after our likeness:...
Gen. I.26.

And out of the ground the Lord
God formed every beast of the field,
and every fowl of the air; and brought
them unto Adam to see what he would
call them: and whatsoever Adam call-
ed every living creature, that was the
name thereof.

Gen. 2.19.

And Adam gave names to all
cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and
to every beast of the field;...

Gen. 2.20.

There is no suggestion in the Scriptures that they were named
by God and Adam respectively because of their control and govern-
ment. This idea is found however in Diodati on Gen. I.5.:

God called) God gave names to these great crea-
tures, which he reserved under his own government...
And lets Adam give names unto them, which he subjec-
ted to him.

Milton could have had Diodati's interpretation in mind at this place.

Envy of God

Satan in the temptation suggests to Eve that the prohibition of
the Tree of Knowledge might be due to envy on the part of God:

What can your knowledge hurt him, or this Tree
Impart against his will if all be his ?
Or is it envie, and can envie dwell
In heav'nly brests?

P.L.9.727-30.

This could have come from the Scriptures as found in Gen. 3.5:

For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.

though it is not at all clear, and it requires a very keen mind to see back of this passage Satan' s charge of envy against God. However this is just the interpretation Diodati has given it on Gen.

3.5.:

God doth know) He doth wrest into a wrong
sense the name of that tree, as if it had power to
confer divine knowledge, and the understanding of
everything: accusing God of envy, and provoking the
woman to pride and curiosity.

This same idea is found in Calvin:

Though the transgression of our first parents was not simple apostasy; they were also guilty of vile reproaches against God, in consenting to the calumnies of Satan, who accused God of falsehood, envy, and malignity.¹

That Milton knew well both Diodati and Calvin there can be no doubt. That he had behind him in this idea of Satan' s charge against God of envy the interpretation of both these divines, there can be little doubt. It is therefore just as safe to attribute the source to Diodati as to Calvin, and for the thesis we have before us the writer is going to give Diodati the benefit of the doubt and credit him as the source.

Relation of Man and Woman

Milton' s conception of the relation of Man and Woman is summed up in this sentence, " Woman was made for Man ", found in his ² Tetrachordon. In his "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce" he

¹John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, I.225.

²Prose Works, 3.325.

says, "Who can be ignorant that woman was created for man, and not man for woman." Again in Tetrachordon he says:

But St. Paul ends the controversy, by explaining, that the woman is not primarily and immediately the image of God, but in reference to the man: "The head of the woman," saith he, I Cor. xi., "is the man;" "he the image and glory of God, she the glory of the man;" he not for her, but she for him. Therefore his precept is, "Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is fit in the Lord," Col. 3.18; in everything, Eph. 5.24. Nevertheless man is not to hold her as a servant, but receives her into a part of that empire which God proclaims him to, though not equally, yet largely, as his own image and glory: for it is no small glory to him, that a creature so like him should be made subject to him."²

Milton implies a rational hierarchy on earth corresponding to that in heaven, P.L. 4.288-99:

Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
Godlike erect, with native Honour clad
In naked Majestie seemd Lords of all,
And worthie seemd, for in thir looks Divine
The image of thir glorious Maker shon,
Truth, Wisdome, Sanctitude severe and pure,
Severe, but in true filial freedom plac't;
Whence true autoritie [sic] in men; though both
Not equal, as their sex not equal seemd;
For contemplation hee and valour formd,
For softness shee and sweet attractive Grace,
Hee for God only, shee for God in him:

That this relationship is recognized by Eve as just and right is shown in her words to Adam when in the Garden:

My Author and Disposer, what thou bidst
Unargu'd I obey; so God ordains,
God is thy Law, thou mine: to know no more
Is womans happiest knowledge and her praise.

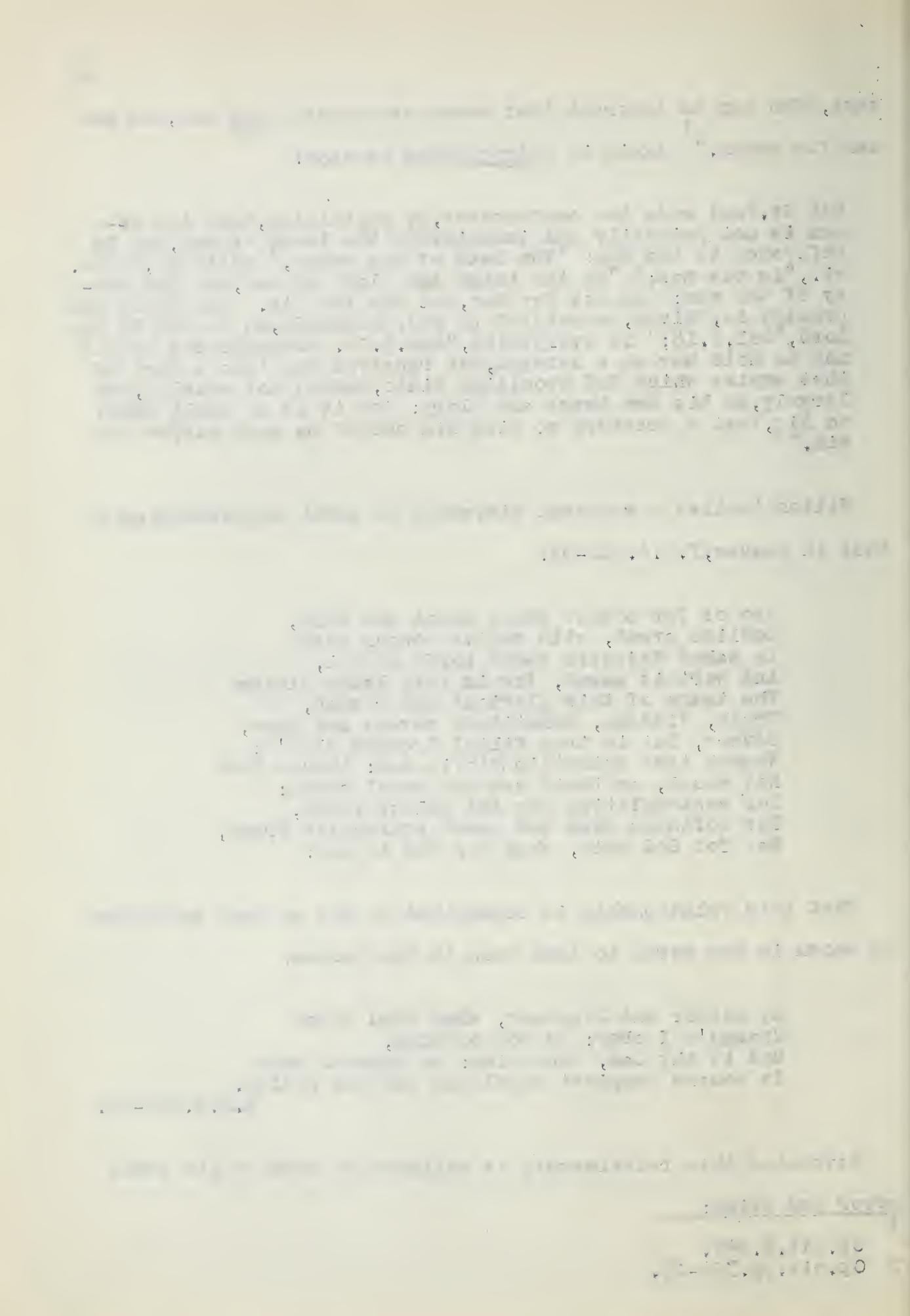
P.L. 4.635-38.

Reversing this relationship is assigned by Adam as his great error and crime:

I

Op.cit.p.247.

2 Op.cit.pp.324-25.



Thus it shall befall
 Him who to worth in Women overtrusting
 Lets her Will rule; restraint she will not brook,
 And left to her self, if evil thence ensue,
 Shee first his weak indulgence will accuse.

P .L.9.II82-86.

And the Son of God so accuses Adam, P.L.IO.I45-56:

Was shee thy God, that her thou didst obey
 Before his voice, or was shee made thy guide,
 Superior, or but equal, that to her
 Thou did'st resigne thy Manhood, and the P lace
 Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
 And for thee, whose perfection farr excell'd
 Hers in all real dignitie: Adornd
 She was indeed, and lovely to attract
 Thy Love, not thy Subjection, and her Gifts
 Were such as under Government well seem'd,
 Unseemly to beare rule, which was thy part
 And person, had'st thou known thy self aright.

Milton's view of the relation of man and woman seems to be an expansion of Paul's view on the same subject; however we find that Diodati has enlarged upon this relation in his Annotations, and it would seem that Milton had before him Diodati's thought on Gen.2.21 :

One of his) Eve was formed not out of the head,
 because the woman ought to be subject to the husband:
 nor the feet, because she must not be held as a slave,
 nor trampled upon: nor of the forepart, because she must
 not withstand: nor of the hinder part, because she must
 not be despised, rejected, nor forsaken: But from the
 side, and the middle of the body, to shew the moderation
 which the husband ought to use in his superiority, and
 the faithfull society they owe to one another.

According to Diodati, then, woman was to be subject to her husband; not, however, a slave to be trampled upon. She was not to oppose him, yet she was not to be rejected by him. She issued from his side which signified the moderation man was to use in his superi-

ority. He further believed that this relation was to hold not only in matrimony but in all the actions of life, Annotations on I.

Cor. II. 3:

But I) Anew precept, or renewed by the Apostle, concerning publick civility, in habit; namely, that women in publick assemblies of the Church should be covered, and men should have their heads uncovered, by reason that in those places and times, the covered head was a sign of subjection, and an uncovered contrariwise a mark of liberty and command: wherefore, that they might keep in the Church that degree among sexes which God had established, they were to observe such signs and marks thereof, as were used by the common consent of Nations:... That the head of every)viz. that the Masculine sexe is immediately subject to Christ, appointed by God, to be sovereign Lord of the world; but the Female sexe is subject to the Masculine, as well in the state of matrimony, as in the principal parts and actions of life....

We have a very striking similarity of thought on the relative relation of man and woman between Milton and Diodati. Milton had as his foundation for his thought on the subject the Scriptures as found in Paul; however in the expansion of his thought he no doubt had before him the thought of Diodati. That he might have been influenced in his thinking by Diodati's interpretation would seem reasonable.

Tree of Knowledge

Milton in his Prose Works on the Tree of Knowledge says:

With regard to that which relates to man in his state of rectitude, God, having placed him in the garden of Eden, and furnished him with whatever was calculated to make life happy, commanded him, as a test of his obedience, to refrain from eating of the single tree of Knowledge of good and evil, under penalty of death if he should disregard the injunction.^I

^I Christian Doctrine, I. 10, p. 220.

Of this tree Adam tells Eve:

he who requires

From us no other service then to keep
 This one, this easie charge, of all the Trees
 In Paradise that beare delicious fruit
 So various, not to tase that onely Tree
 Of knowledge.... for well thou knowst
 God hath pronounc't it death to taste that Tree,
 The only sign of our obedience left

P.L.4.4I9-428.

Milton further says on this:

Gen. 2I5-17.....This is sometimes called "the covenant of works," though it does not appear from any passage of Scripture to have been either a covenant, or of works. No works whatever were required of Adam; a particular act only was forbidden. It was necessary that something should be forbidden or commanded as a test of fidelity, and that an act in its own nature indifferent, in order that man's obedience might be thereby manifested. For since it was the disposition of man to do what was right, as a being naturally good and holy, it was not necessary that he should be bound by the obligation of a covenant to perform that to which he was of himself inclined; nor would he have given any proof of obedience by the performance of works to which he was led by a natural impulse, independently of the divine command.^I

Diodati sets forth the same idea in his interpretation of Gen. 2.9:

Of Knowledge)viz. Another Tree by which God would make proof of man's obedience or rebellion: his will being to subject him unto a law, even in the state of innocence, and by which man might also know by experience, his true happiness, if he persisted in innocence; or his unhappiness, if he disobeyed this commandment of tryall, joyned to the perfect law of righteousness, which God had imprinted in his soul.

Milton further says regarding the Tree of Knowledge that it was not a sacrament but a pledge:

The tree of Knowledge of good and evil was not a sacra-

ment, as it is generally called; for a sacrament is a thing to be used not abstained from; but a pledge, as it were, and memorial of obedience.¹

It was so named by Christ to Adam:

But of the Tree whose operation brings
Knowledg of good and ill, which I have set
The Pledge of thy Obedience and thy Faith
Amid the Garden by the Tree of Life,

P.L.8.323-26.

Milton here interprets the Tree of Knowledge as a pledge, a memorial of obedience, and not a sacrament as generally interpreted. He defines a sacrament as a thing to be used, not abstained from.

That Diodati has the same idea of sacrament is seen in his comments on Ezekiel 20.20:

A sign) That is, a sacrament of an interchangeable agreement; namely, that I sanctifie you by my Spirit, to cause you to cease from your evil works: And you reciprocally shall be conformable by your wills, to the working of my grace, by being dead to the said works, to dedicate your selves wholly to them of my service, and spirit.

In which Diodati interprets the Sabbath as a sacrament of interchangeable agreement between God and the Children of Israel. Since the Sabbath was to be used by man, Diodati's interpretation is in harmony with that of Milton; and at a point which Milton says is generally interpreted differently.

The Tree of Life

In the same sense the Tree of Life before the fall of man was a sacrament for it was to be used by him; but after man's fall it became a forbidden fruit and lest Adam partake of it he was

cast out from the Garden. Milton in his Prose Works has to say on the Tree of Life:

The tree of life, in my opinion, ought not to be considered so much a sacrament, as a symbol of eternal life, or rather perhaps the nutriment by which that life is sustained. Gen.iii.22 "lest he take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever." I

The same thought is expressed in P.L.II.93-96:

Least therefore his now bolder hand
Reach also of the Tree of Life, and eat,
And live for ever, dream at least to live
For ever,

While Milton says that the Tree of Life should not be considered so much a sacrament as a symbol of eternal life or rather the nutriment by which life is sustained; it would seem that he has reference to the Tree of Life after man's fall. For he uses as reference here Gen.3.22, in which it is stated that God sent Adam out from the garden of Eden lest he eat also of the Tree of Life.

Diodati says on Gen.2.9:

The Tree of Life)viz. a certain tree in whose fruit God had put this virtue, that it should keep mans body in a perpetuall, and equall state of health, life and strength, free from diseases, decaying and old age. And besides, he had set it there for a Sacrament, of the subsistence and spirituall life of man in the grace and communion of the Lord, so long as he should persevere in righteousness and obedience.

Though Diodati interprets the Tree of Life here as a Sacrament, it is before the fall and was at that time to be used by man for

the immortality of the body and the spiritual life of man during his obedience. But after the fall it no longer belonged to man and to longer taste of its fruit would be considered a sacrilege. This is enlarged upon by Diodati on Gen. 3.22:

And now lest *viz.* Since that through sin he is fallen from the life of the soul, he hath no more part in the immortality of the body, nor the tree of life, which is the means to it: and ought not to profane the Sacrament of eternall life, which no more belongeth to him by his former right.

According to Milton, then, the Tree of Knowledge was neither a covenant, nor a sacrament, but a symbol of man's obedience. The Tree of Life was not a sacrament so much as a symbol in that after man's disobedience he no longer could partake of its fruit; and it then became a symbol of eternal life. Diodati likewise interprets the Tree of Knowledge as a symbol of man's obedience and not a sacrament; which he defines as an interchangeable agreement. He interprets the Tree of Life as found in Gen. 2.9 as a sacrament, in that man was through its use to enjoy the grace of the Lord during his righteousness. However its use was denied him after the fall and it then became the symbol of eternal life. Milton and Diodati would seem then to agree in their interpretations of the Trees.

Man's Fall

Milton represents Eve as deceived in an evil hour by Satan in the fall; but Adam as overcome with female charm:

So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the Fruit, she pluck'd, she eat:
P.L.9.780-81.

She gave him of that fair enticing Fruit
 With liberal hand: he scrupl'd not to eat
 Against his better knowledge, not deceav'd
 But fondly overcome with Femal charm.

P.L.9.996-99.

The Scriptures say that Eve was deceived and that Adam was not:

And Adam was not deceived, but
 the woman being deceived was in the
 transgression.

I Timothy 2.14.

This idea then of Adam being overcome with female charm is not from the Scriptures, and we must look elsewhere for its source. Diodati says on I Tim.2.14:

Deceived) Namely, immediately, by the devil;
 neither doth the story say, that he was deceived by
 Eve, but only that he received the forbidden fruit
 from her, and did eat of it. The Fr. Annot. thus,
 Deceived) viz. by the Devil immediately, whose malic-
 ious inventions and calumnies, (even against God him-
 self) Eve believed by a more grievous sin, than Adams
 plain obsequiousness to his wife, was in) the Ital.
 Was the cause of; that is to say, induced and caused
 Adam to sin, whereby for a punishment, she was the more
 subject to her husband.

Diodati attributes Adam's fall here to his obsequiousness. This connotes excessive compliance or excessive devotion, which in itself suggests a weakness due to female charm. It is therefore possible that Milton caught the idea from this source.

Man's Sin

Milton holds in his Christian Doctrine that Adam's sin was a transgression of the whole law:

This sin was a transgression of the whole law. It comprehended at once distrust in the divine veracity, and

a proportionate credulity in the assurances of Satan; unbelief; ingratitude; disobedience; gluttony; in the man excessive uxoriousness, in the woman a want of proper regard for her husband, in both an insensibility to the welfare of their offspring, and that offspring the whole human race; parricide, theft, invasion of the rights of others, sacrilege, deceit, presumption in aspiring to divine attributes, fraud in the means employed to attain the object, pride and arrogance. I

He expresses this same thought in P.L.10.12-16:

For still they knew, and ought to have still remember'd
The high Injunction not to taste that Fruit,
Whoever tempted; which they not obeying,
Incurr'd, what could they less, the penaltie,
And manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.

Newton says:

The divines, especially those of Milton's communion, reckon up several sins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit: namely, pride, uxoriousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience &c. so that for such complicated guilt, he² deserved to fall from his happy state in Paradise.

Among these divines must have been Diodati, for he so interprets the breaking of the law in his comments on James 2.10:

For whosoever) He proves, that they do trans-
gress the Law, as he had said, though it seemed to
be in one small point. Guilty) viz. according to
the rigour of the Law he is subject to condemnation,
as well as if he had broken all the Commandments one
by one; for the Law is but an indivisible total, and
requires perfect obedience in each part...and the
same majesty of God is contemned in one only sin, as
in all; and the breach of one precept, proceeds from
the same cause, as the breach of all, namely, for
want of loving God, and from man's corruptness.

Diodati has interpreted the Law here as an indivisible total;
so that in the one act of the eating of the Tree of Knowledge
I Christian Doctrine, I.xi, 254.

man was guilty of the transgression of the whole Law, which is in harmony with Milton's interpretation of Man's sin.

In this brief study for the interpretation of Milton in his Paradise Lost and of Diodati in his Annotations upon the Holy Bible at related points, we have found a close relation of thought at vital points, which would not only argue a knowledge on the part of Milton of the comments of Diodati on the Scriptures; but it would also argue very strongly the possibility of an influence of Diodati on his interpretation.

PARADISE REGAINED

CHAPTER IV

Paradise Regained

Our aim in this chapter is to interpret for possible source some phases of the Temptation of Christ by Satan in Milton's Paradise Regained that are not directly drawn from the Scriptures, but are points for interpretation of the Scriptures. We have included in our study:- The Spirit, The Purpose of the Temptations, Hunger, Satan's Obscure Knowledge, Satan's Permitted Power, Illusions and the Pinnacle.

We hope to show here a similarity of thought between Milton and Diodati as further evidence of Milton's knowledge of Diodati and a possible influence of Diodati on Milton's representation of the Temptation with these particular ideas in mind.

We have as the outline for Paradise Regained the first thirteen verses of the fourth chapter of Luke, paralleled with slight variation in the first eleven verses of the fourth chapter of Matthew, and condensed by Mark into the twelfth and thirteenth verses of chapter one. Milton's representation is the expansion of the Biblical story as found here in the Scriptures, following step by step the incidents of the temptation as given in Luke:

Luke 4.I-13 :

And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost returned from Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness,
2 Being forty days tempted of the devil. And in those days he did eat nothing: and when they were ended, he afterward hungered.
3 And the devil said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, command this stone that it be made bread.
4 And Jesus answered him, saying, It is written, That man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God.
5 And the devil, taking him up into an high mountain, shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time.
6 And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it.
7 If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine.
8 And Jesus answered and said unto him, Get thee behind me, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.
9 And he brought him to Jerusalem, and set him on a pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence:
10 For it is written, He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee:
11 And in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.
12 And Jesus answering said unto him, It is said, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.
13 And when the devil had ended all the temptation, he departed from him for a season.

Matthew 4.I-II :

Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.

2 And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward an hungred.

3 And when the tempter came to him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.

4 But he answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

5 Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple,

6 And said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee: and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

7 Jesus said unto him, It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

8 Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them;

9 And saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.

10 Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

11 Then the devil leaveth him, and, behold, angels came and ministered unto him.

Mark I.I2-I3. :

I2 And immediately the spirit driveth him into the wilderness.

I3 And he was there in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan; and was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him.

The Spirit

Milton interprets the Spirit by which the Son of God was led into the wilderness, P.R.I.183-89:

Mean while the Son of God, who yet some days
 Lodg'd in Bethabara where John baptiz'd,
 Musing and much revolving in his brest,
 How best the mighty work he might begin
 O f Saviour to mankind, and which way first
 P ublish his God-like office now mature,
 One day forth walk'd alone, The Spirit leading;

as some strong motion in which the Son has utter trust, P.R.I.282-93:

The Spirit descended on me like a Dove,
 And last the sum of all, my Father's voice,
 Audibly heard from Heav'n, pronounc'd me his,
 Me his beloved Son, in whom alone
 He was well pleas'd; by which I knew the time
 Now full, that I no more should live obscure,
 But openly begin, as best becomes
 The Authority which I deriv'd from Heaven.
 And now by some strong motion I am led
 Into this wilderness, to what intent
 I learn not yet, perhaps I need not know;
 For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

This interpretaion of the Spirit is in harmony with the interpretation of Diodation Luke 4.I:

By the Spirit) viz. By the Holy Ghost, by
 which he was always accompanied.

and more particularly on Matt.4.I.:

of the spirit) viz. By a vehement motion of
 the Holy Ghost, whereof his humane nature was ful.

for here Diodati says"by a vehement motion of the Holy Ghost of
 which his human nature was full", and Milton has it"by some strong
 motion." This might however had its source in Mark, chapter one,

verse twelve, where the spirit driveth him into the wilderness; however Milton's interpretation of the Spirit here as a strong motion of the Holy Ghost leading the Son of God into the wilderness, which he follows not knowing why he is to go, is the same intimate impulse that guides Samson in his life, which we treat later in Samson Agonistes. Milton's expansion of the idea of this impelling motion could have had behind it Diodati's interpretation.

The Purpose of the Temptation

The purpose of the temptation as set forth by Milton is:

To shew him worthy of his birth divine
 And high prediction, henceforth I expose
 To Satan; let him tempt and now assay
 His utmost subtilty, because he boasts
 And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
 Of his Apostasie;

P.R.I.141-46.

and:

He now shall know I can produce a man
 Of female Seed, far abler to resist
 All his sollicitations, and at length
 All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell,
 Winning by Conquest what the first man lost
 By fallacy surpriz'd. But first I mean
 To exercise him in the Wilderness,
 There he shall first lay down the rudiments
 Of his great warfare, e're I send him forth
 To conquer Sin and Death the two grand foes,
 By Humiliation and strong Sufferance:
 His weakness shall o'recome Satanic strength
 And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh;
 That all the Angels and Aetherial Powers,
 They now, and men hereafter may discern,
 From what consummate vertue I have chose
 This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
 To earn Salvation for the Sons of men.

P.R.I.150-67.

Milton is saying here that the purpose of the temptation is to show that the Son of God is worthy of his divine birth, and that God can produce a Greater Man of female seed far abler than Job to resist the solicitations of Satan and win by the conquest of the spirit a Paradise within. It is for this he says that God exposes Christ to Satan in the wilderness, that by the exercise of humiliation and sufferance he may overcome the apparent strength of Satan, thus preparing himself for his great warfare with Sin and Death; that men may know from what consummate ' virtue' he, this perfect Man, had been chosen, who was to earn salvation for the sons of Man.

In this interpretation we find that Milton has practically the same thought as Diodati on Matt.4.I:

Tempted) for an exercise of his humiliation,
and a trial of his perfect holiness and righteousness,
and of his victory over the Devil by the power thereof.
And to give his Church a proof of assured victory against
all the endevours and subtleties of the evil spirit,

Diodati sets forth in the above as the purpose of the temptation:- The exercise of his humiliation; a trial of his holiness; a victory over the Devil by the power thereof; and the giving proof to the Church of his assured victory over all the endeavors of the evil Spirit.

Hunger

Milton has the Son of God for forty days taste not human food and yet has him feel no hunger, pain or uneasiness from want of food, P.R.I.308-9:

Nor tasted humane food, nor hunger felt
Till those days ended,...

This the Son himself affirms:

four times ten days I have pass'd
 Wandring this woody maze, and humane food
 Nor tasted, nor had appetite:

P.R.2.245-47.

for he the while was fed with holiest meditations:

The while her Son tracing the Desert wild,
 Sole but with holiest Meditations fed,

P.R.2.109-10.

until those days ended he:

Till those days ended, hunger'd then at last

P.R.I.309.

nor minded the sting of famine, for he hungered to do his Father's will:

And from the sting of Famine fear no harm,
 Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts that feed
 Mee hungrily more to do my Fathers will.

P.R.2.257-59.

and had full trust in God:

But now I feel I hunger, which declares,
 Nature hath need of what she asks; yet God
 Can satisfie that need some other way,
 Though hunger still remain:

P.R.2.252-55.

for :

Man lives not by Bread only, but each Word
 Proceeding from the mouth of God,

P.R.I.349-50.

The Son of God might then seem to indicate that Satan knows nothing of this spiritual hunger with which he has overcome the hunger of his human nature, for he says:

And with my hunger what hast thou to do?

P.R.2.389.

Milton represents the Son of God here as feeling no hunger for forty days, during which time he is fed with holiest meditations. At the end of those days his human nature asserts itself and he hungers; yet he overcomes the sting of famine with the greater hunger of the soul to do his Father's will. That the Son has mastered his physical need and that God did satisfy that need by each word proceeding from his mouth is shown by the irony with which the Son mentions this hunger when Satan represents to him the power and the glory of Rome, P.R.4.169-121:

To whom the Son of God unmov'd reply'd,
 Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show
 Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
 More then of arms before, allure mine eye,
 Much less my mind; Though thou should' st add to tell
 Thir sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts
 On Cittron tables or Atlantic stone;
 (For I have also heard, perhaps have read)
 Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
 Chios and Creet, and how they quaff in Gold,
 Crystal and Myrrhine cups imboss'd with Gems
 And studs of Pearl, to me should' st tell who thirst
 And hunger still:

Diodati's interpretation is that Christ's feeling no want or discommodity was a test of his divine power to bear up his humanity without natural means. Milton has it, his humanity, his human nature, felt no need in that God satisfied that need by his every word. According to Diodati his divine power gave way to

human nature that he might feel hunger and give occasion to the attack of the Tempter. Milton has Christ to feel hunger which he overcomes by spiritual hunger and faith in his Father's will. It was at the time of his hunger that Milton has Satan make his first attack. Diodati interprets bread to imply the good will and pleasure of God; and every word to include the decrees and wisdom of God who by his power preserves and governs all things. As well as all things that man through his free will attributes such virtue to; and which he by the power of his own will controls without any means at all. Milton's interpretation here is that the Son overcomes hunger with the spiritual desire to do his Father's will. The spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures on the hunger of the Son of God by Milton and Diodati reveals a marked similarity of thought.

Satan's Obscure Knowledge

Milton's Satan was obscure in his knowledge of the things of the spirit, which is in harmony with Milton's theory of divinely inspired wisdom, P.L. 351-55:

So much the rather thou Celestial light
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
 Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
 P urge and disperse, that I may see and tell
 Of things invisible to mortal sight.

This obscurity of knowledge is indicated in the first and third temptations by the doubt, 'If thou be the Son of God.' This doubt is first hinted at, P.R.I. 327-30:

For that to me thou seem'st the man, whom late
 Our new baptizing P rophet at the Ford
 Of Jordan honour'd so, and called thee Son
 Of God;

It might seem here that Satan takes the voice of God which pronounced Christ his beloved Son for the voice of the Prophet John, though he was present at the baptism and heard God's voice:

The Spirit descended, while the Fathers voice
From Heav'n pronounced him his beloved Son
That heard the Adversary,

P.R.I.31-33.

and though he saw the Dove descend upon his head he failed to understand:

on him rising
Out of the water, Heav'n above the Clouds
Unfold her Crystal Dores, thence on his head
A perfect Dove descend, what e're it meant,

as he had failed to understand the symbolism of the baptism:

Before him a great Prophet, to proclaim
His coming, is sent Harbinger, who all
Invites, and in the Consecrated stream
Pretends to wash off sin,

P.R.I.70-73.

While he remembers the first-begot Son of God:

His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep;
P.R.I.89-90.

yet he is to learn who this is:

Who this is we must learn, for man he seems
In all his lineaments, though in his face
The glimpses of his Fathers glory shine.

P.R.I.91-93.

This doubt again appears:

If he be Man by Mothers side at least,
 With more then humane gifts from Heav'n adorn'd,
 Perfections absolute, Graces divine,
 And amplitude of mind to greatest Deeds.

Christ says that these things of the Kingdom were not for Satan to know:

And of my Kingdom there shall be no end:
 Means there shall be to this, but what the means,
 Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

P.R.4.151-53.

Satan says the when and how of Christ's kingdom is not known:

persue thy way
 Of gaining David's Throne no man knows when,
 For both the when and how is no where told,
 P.R.4.470-72.

Satan is yet in doubt as to his Sonship:

Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
 To me so fatal, me it most concerns.

And when Christ is moved by neither wealth, honour, arms, Kingdom nor Empire, Satan perplexed and in doubt asks:

What dost thou in this World?
 P.R.4.372.

Satan admits that his knowledge of the nature of Christ's Kingdom is obscure:

A Kingdom they portend thee, but what Kingdom,
 Real or Allegoric I discern not,

In rage Satan calls Christ the Son of David Virgin-born for he is yet in doubt:

To whom the Fiend now swoln with rage reply'd:
 Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born;
 For Son of God to me is yet in doubt,

P.R.4.499-501.

Satan as yet is unable to understand that Christ is more than mere man:

Of the Messiah I have heard foretold
 By all the Prophets; of thy birth at length
 Announc't by Gabriel with the first I knew,
 And of the Angelic Song in Bethlehem field,
 On thy birth-night, that sung thee Saviour born.
 From that time seldom have I ceas'd to eye
 Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
 Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;
 Till at the Ford of Jordan whither all
 Flock'd to the Baptist, I among the rest,
 Though not to be Baptiz'd, by voice from Heav'n
 Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
 Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
 And narrower Scrutiny, that I might learn
 In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
 The Son of God, which bears no single sence;
 The Son of God I also am, or was,
 And if I was, I am; relation stands;
 All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought
 In some respect far higher so declar'd.
 Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,
 And follow'd thee still on to this wast wild;
 Where by all best conjectures I collect
 Thou art to be my fatal enemy.
 Good reason then, if I before-hand seek
 To understand my Adversary, who
 And what he is; his wisdom, power, intent,
 By parl, or composition, truce, or league
 To win him, or win him what I can.
 And opportunity I here have had
 To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
 Proof against all temptation as a rock
 Of Adamant, and as a Center, firm
 To the utmost of meer man both wise and good,
 Not more; for Honours, Riches, Kingdoms, Glory
 Have been before contemn'd, and may agen;
 Therefore to know what more thou art then man,
 Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heav'n,
 Another method I must now begin.

P.R.4.502-40.

It is with this doubt that he stands Christ upon the pinnacle

with the command to stand or cast himself safely down if Son of God. It is then at last, convinced by the miracle of his standing, that he realizes that Christ is the Son of God.

This obscure knowledge of Satan is further revealed in the Temptation of the Kingdoms. A Spiritual Kingdom Satan can not understand. This temptation beginning with the regal Banquet at each step reveals the obscurity of Satan in things spiritual. The Parthian army, the power and glory of Rome, the wisdom and learning of Greece, represent the Kingdoms of the sense and mind and are rejected by Christ, whose conception of his Kingdom is far beyond the thought of Satan. In speaking of the learning of this world Christ says:

he who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true;
But these are false, or little else but dreams,
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.

P.R.4.288-92.

This obscurity of Satan's is an ever increasing blindness and the inward punishment of Satan and those who scorn.

They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
But hard be hard'nd, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall.

P.L.3.200-I.

It is the darkness of the mind that came to man at his fall:

Soon found thir Eyes how op'nd, and thir minds
How dark'nd;

P.L.9.1053-4.

This idea of the obscurity of Satan's knowledge we find in Diodati on Matt.4.3:

If thou be) it seemeth the Devil had two ends in temptations, the one to draw from Christ some proofs and trials of his Deity, and of the mystery of his Incarnation, of which he had but an obscure knowledge: which was denied him, as miracles were to unbelievers and profane men. The other was, to draw his humane nature to sin, either of impatience and diffidence in his voluntary obedience; or of pride and presumption, without vocation or necessity; or of rebellion against God.

Diodati says here that Satan's knowledge of Christ's Deity and the mystery of his Incarnation was obscure. We have here the same doubt and obscure knowledge that we have in Milton's interpretation. That this did not come to Milton directly from the Scriptures is evident. That it had its source in some interpretation of the Scriptures is probable; and that Milton found this in Diodati's interpretation the writer is inclined to believe.

Satan's Permitted Power

Milton is very clear in his thought that Satan is left to his dark designs by the will of God to the end that he may heap on himself damnation, P.L.I.2II-15:

but that the will
 And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
 Left him at large to his own dark designs,
 That with reiterated crimes he might
 Heap on himself damnation,

and

That all this good of evil shall produce,
 And evil turn to good; more wonderful
 Then that by which creation first brought forth
 Light out of darkness!

P.L.I2.470-73.

Though Satan boasts

This Universe we have possest, and rul'd
In manner at our will th' affairs of Earth,

P.R.I.49-50.

he unknowingly in the temptation fulfills the purposed conseil of
God, P.R.I.126-28:

But contrary unweeting he fulfill' d
The purpos' d Counsel pre-ordain' d and fixt
Of the most High,

and Christ declares

But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King.

P.R.I.421.

For God hath justly giv'n the Nations up
To thy Delusions; justly, since they fell
Idolatrous, but when his purpose is
Among them to declare his Providence
To thee not known,

P.R.I.442.46.

therefore

do as thou find'st
P ermission from above; thou canst not more,

P.R.I.495-96.

Satan himself admits that his power is permitted of God:

I came among the Sons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
To prove him, and illustrate his high worth;

P.R.I.368-70.

That Satan's power is by the permission of God is shown later
when Satan takes the Son of God to a high mountain for the vision
and Temptation of the Kingdoms, P.R.3.251-52:

With that (such power was giv'n him then) he took
The Son of God up to a Mountain high.

In answer to Satan's claim that the Kingdoms of the World were given him, Christ says that it is by the will of God :

The Kingdoms of the world to thee were giv'n,
Permitted rather, and by thee usurp't,

P.R.4.182-83.

It was by this permitted power that Christ was tried:

But I endure the time, till which expir'd,
Thou hast permission on me.

P.R.4.174-75.

When Satan failed with the guiles of the Kingdoms he carried Christ back from the mountain to the wilderness by his permitted power:

So saying he took (for still he knew his power
Not yet expir'd) and to the Wilderness
Brought back the Son of God,

P.R.4.394-96.

It is by exercise of this same power yet granted him that Satan takes Christ to Jerusalem for the last temptation, P.R.4.541-43:

So saying he caught him up, and without wing
Of Hippogrif bore through the Air sublime
Over the Wilderness and o're the Plain;

This idea of the permitted power of Satan as used by Milton we find clearly set forth by Diodati on Matt.4.5:

Taketh him up) It seems that it was by some swift motion through the air, but without any hurt, and that by the permission of God, and of Christ himself.

and on Luke 4.6:

Delivered) So the Devil is constrained to confess that he hath no power over the world, but onely by God's permission, which he falsely termeth a gift. Whereas indeed, it is but onely a true and just leaving it to him.

Diodati interprets this apparent power of Satan as a power permitted by God, and falsely termed a gift by Satan, for it is only a leaving it to him for the trial of Christ. This makes very clear Milton's representation of Satan's power, and an influence of Diodati here on Milton's thought is quite possible.

Illusion

Milton tells us that Satan spread before Christ the Banquet Scene by no dream:

behold
 Nature ashamed, or better to express,
 Troubl'd that thou should'st hunger, hath purvey'd
 From all the Elements her choicest store
 To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord
 With honour, only deign to sit and eat.
 He spake no dream, for as his words had end,
 Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld
 In ample space under the broadest shade
 A Table richly spred,

. P.R.2.331-40.

No such dream as Eve has in her sleep on the night before the fall, in which Satan prepares her for the temptation by subtle suggestion:

suddenly
 My Guide was gon, and I, me thought, sunk down,
 And fell asleep; but O! how glad I wak'd
 To find this but a dream!

P.L.5.90-93.

Nor such a dream as Christ has before the Temptation of the Pinnacle in which the Fiend by a storm , Infernal Ghosts, Hellish Furies and griesly Spectres, tries in vain to create terror in the soul of Christ:

But shelter'd slept in vain, for at his head
The Tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams
Disturb'd his sleep;

P.R. 4.407-9.

But by some vision or illusion for:

With that
Both Table and Provision vanish'd quite
With sound of Harpies wings, and Talons heard;
P.R.2.401-3.

It was by illusion that the Kingdoms of the East were flashed
before Christ from the mountain top:

To this high mountain top the Tempter brought
Our Saviour.... here thou behold' st
P.R.3.265-69.

as Adam had revealed to him the future of the race by Michael as they ascended in the Visions of God:

So both ascend
In the Visions of God: It was a Hill
Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
The Hemisphere of Earth in clearest Ken
Stretcht out to amplest reach of prospect lay.
Not higher that Hill nor wider looking round,
Whereon for different cause the Tempter set
Our second Adam in the Wilderness,
To shew him all Earths Kingdomes and thir Glory.

It was by illusion that Christ was shown the Parthian Army:

To whom our Saviour answer'd thus unmov'd.
 Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm,
 And fragile arms, much instrument of war
 Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
 Before mine eyes thou hast set;

P.R.3.386-90.

By skill of vision:

By what strange Parallax or Optic skill
 Of vision multiplyed through air, or glass
 Of Telescope, were curious to enquire:

P.R.4.40-42.

Satan pictures for Christ the Imperial Palace of Rome:

The Imperial Palace, compass huge, and high
 The Structure, skill of noblest Architects,
 With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,
 Turrets and Terrases, and glittering Spires.

P.R.4.51-54.

and the wonderful adornment within:

Houses of Gods (so well I have dispos'd
 My Aerie Microscope) thou may'st behold
 Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs
 Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd Artificers
 In Cedar, Marble, Ivory or Gold.

P.R.4.56-60.

Yet Christ unmoved by the illusion of this luxury replies:

Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show
 Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
 More then of arms before, allure mine eye,

P.R.4.110-12.

All these Kingdoms represented in a moment by illusion to Christ
 falsely as gifts:

All these which in a moment thou behold' st,
 The Kingdoms of the world to thee I give;
 For giv'n to me, I give to whom I please,

P.R.4.162-64.

and then from the specular Mount:

Look once more e're we leave this specular Mount
P.R. 4.236.

he displayed Athens, the eye of Greece and Mother of Art and Eloquence.

This idea of the vision or illusion Milton could have caught from the Scriptures, Luke 4.5; ' in a moment of time ' suggesting the vision or illusion. However we find this same interpretation in Diodati on Matt.4.8:

Sheweth him) viz. By some vision, or illusion, as it appears by Luke 4.5.

The idea of illusion is so suggestive here that one would be justified in thinking that Milton had before him Diodati's annotation.

Pinnacle

Diodati in his interpretation of the Temptation of the P inna-
cle is not in harmony with the interpretation of Milton. Accord-
ing to Diodati on Matt.4.5:

A pinnacle) Ital.
the edge of the roof: viz. the roof of the Temple being flat according to the fashion of those times and places, there was round about it a certain edge, hem, or cornice, jetting out, as well for ornament as to convey away the rain-water; and there it should seem the Devil did set the Lord. Or, it was upon the roof of the porch of the Temple, sixty cubits high.

there would be no skill required for Christ to stand on the Pinnacle; and therefore Christ's refusing to cast himself down would

not have resulted in the miracle of standing as represented by Milton; who has added this incident in his expansion of the Biblical story:

There on the highest Pinacle he set
 The Son of God; and added thus in scorn:
 There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
 Will ask thee skill;

P.R.4.549-52.

^I
 He may have followed Josephus here as suggested by Gilbert; or he may have been familiar with Diodati's interpretation, and created for himself a Temple that better suited his purpose. However we find that in P.L.3.549-51:

or some renowned Metropolis
 With glistening Spires and Pinnacles adornd,
 Which now the Rising Sun guilds with his beams.

Milton had in mind spires or pinnacles as we think of them today, as church spires. Again in Satan's picture of the Imperial Palace we have the same idea:

The Imperial Palace, compass huge, and high
 The Structure, skill of noblest Architects,
 With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,
 Turrets and Terrases, and glittering Spires.

P.R.4.51-54.

and in P.R.4.546-48:

And higher yet the glorious Temple rear'd
 Her pile, far off appearing like a Mount
 Of Alabaster, top't with golden Spires:

And then Christ's position on the pinnacle is called his uneasie
²
 station.

I

Allan H. Gilbert, A Geographical Dictionary of Milton, p. I62.
 2 P.R.4.584.

Whatever may have been before Milton, we think that he has added force to the representation by having Christ in refusing to cast himself down perform a miracle by standing. Satan was able to understand this miracle of sense, when he would not have understood Christ's Deity in his refusing to use his miraculous power to save himself and thus tempt God.

That Milton used a different interpretation from that of Diodati does not argue that Milton was not acquainted with Diodati's annotation; for Milton did not always follow commentators when it suited his purpose better to use a different idea.

In our study of Paradise Regained for striking similarities of interpretation between Milton and Diodati, we have found that both interpret the Spirit as an innate impulse leading Christ into the Temptation for a trial of his divinity. Their interpretation is in common of Hunger as the symbolism of his humanity overcome by his spiritual hunger to do his Father's will. Satan's knowledge is interpreted by Diodati as obscure, and is so represented by Milton in his expansion of the Scriptures. Satan's power by the interpretation of both is a power permitted by God that he might bring forth good out of evil. Milton's presentation of the Kingdoms by illusion is likewise interpreted by Diodati. In the third temptation we find them at variance, yet this difference does not argue against Milton's knowledge of Diodati, for he was doubtless acquainted with his annotation at this place but found the interpretation of Josephus, of whom he was very fond, to best fit what he wanted to do.

SAMSON AGONISTES

CHAPTER V

Samson Agonistes

Milton was dependent in the main on the Scriptures, Judges thirteen to sixteen, for the material of Samson Agonistes. Almost all of the incidents of the Biblical Narrative have been worked into Milton's story; and but few points arise that could be traced to other sources. There are however some few striking similarities of interpretation between Milton and Diodati, where the source was not directly from the Scriptures, which have value for this thesis.

The Spirit

This may be considered a continuation of the study on this subject in Paradise Lost. While we find in the Scriptures that the Spirit of the Lord moved Samson at times in the Camp of Dan; and also came mightily upon him when he came upon the lion; yet this thought is brought out so clearly in the interpretation of Diodati and bears such a striking similarity to the representation of Milton, that it seems probable that Milton had the Annotations be-

¹ Hanford, op.cit., p.221.

² Judges, I3.25.

fore him at the time and that they possibly influenced him.

It was the motion of this Spirit which decided Samson at last to go with the officer to the feast of Dagon:

Be of good courage, I begin to feel
 Some rousing motions in me which dispose
 To something extraordinary my thoughts.
 I with this Messenger will go along,
 Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonour
 Our Law, or stain my vow of Nazarite.
 If there be aught of presage in the mind,
 This day will be remarkable in my life
 By some great act, or of my days the last.

S.A.1381-89.

This was the same impulse that he had followed in his marriage with the Philistine woman at Timna:

they knew not
 That what I motion'd was of God; I knew
 From intimate impulse, and therefore urg'd
 The Marriage on;

S.A.221-24.

The Chorus invoked this Spirit upon Samson as he left:

that Spirit that first rusht on thee
 In the camp of Dan
 Be efficacious in thee now at need

S.A.1435-37.

This Spirit is said by Diodati to have been conferred to a great degree upon those who were chosen deliverers of their people:

The spirit) Which was extraordinarily conferred upon those persons whom the Lord had chosen for deliverers of his people.

Judges 13.25.

and therefore upon Samson, for he was to begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines:

For, lo, thou shalt conceive, and bear a son; and no razor shall come on his head: for the child shall be a Nazarite unto God from the womb; and he shall begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines.

Judges I3.5.

Diodati says that the Philistines troubled the people of Israel a long time after Samson:

Begin) For the Philistines continued in troubling of the people a long time after Samson, untill they were at the last subdued quite under David, who was a figure of Christ, who in the glory of his last coming shall destroy all the residue of his enemies,

Judges I3.5.

This Spirit according to Diodati was the source of Samson's miraculous strength of body and courage, Judges I3.25:

To move him) to inspire magnanimous thoughts unto him, and give him a miraculous strength of body and courage, and incite him to do great and more than humane acts.

and came mightily upon him, Judges I4.6:

Came mightily upon him) viz. In a moment he filled him with a supernatural strength both of body and courage, to confirm him by this act in his vocation,

Milton interprets this Spirit as a rousing motion in Samson which moved him to follow the Messenger; and was invoked upon him by the Chorus as he left. This spirit moved him by an intimate impulse in his marriage to the Philistine woman at Timna. By Diodati it was said to be conferred in a great degree upon those chosen to be deliverers of their people, and therefore on Samson who was to begin the delivery of the Children of Israel.

Guardian Angels

The idea that angels guarded over the affairs of believers often appears in Milton. The special government of angels is treated in the Christian Doctrine. In his Prose Works Milton on this ^I says, "Their ministry relates especially to believers." Here he cites Psalm 91.II, I2:

II. For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways.

I2 They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.

It was this passage that was used by Satan in the third temptation:

Cast thy self down; safely if Son of God:
 For it is written, He will give command
 Concerning thee to his Angels, in thir hands
 They shall up lift thee, lest at any time
 Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.

P.R.4.555-59.

In Paradise Lost we find the same idea:

by which the Spirits perverse
 With easie intercourse pass to and fro
 To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
 God and good Angels guard by special grace.

P.L.2.1030-33.

and again in Comus:

So dear to Heav'n is Saintly chastity,
 That, when a soul is found sincerely so,
 A thousand liveried Angels lacky her,
 Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,
 And in clear dream and solemn vision
 Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,
 Till oft convers with heav'nly habitants

Begin to cast a beam on th'outward shape,
 The unpolluted temple of the mind,
 And turns it by degrees to the souls essence,
 Till all be made immortal:

Comus, 453-63.

This idea appears in Samson Agonistes, in the words of Samson as he meditates on what he was and now is:

O wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold
 Twice by an Angel, who at last in sight
 Of both my Parents all in flames ascended
 From off the Altar,

S.A. 23-26.

His nurture was proclaimed twice by an angel:

For this did the Angel twice descend? for this
 Ordain'd thy nurture holy, as of a Plant;
 Select, and Sacred,

S.A. 36I-63.

Samson in dialogue with the Chorus in soul agony, as he feels the sense of Heaven's desertion, laments:

I was his nursling once and choice delight,
 His destin'd from the womb,
 Promised by Heavenly message twice descending.

S.A. 633-35.

The Chorus in an Ode invokes the sending of this Angel to guide and stand by Samson as he leaves for the feast:

Go, and the Holy One
 Of Israel be thy guide
 To what may serve his glory best, & spread his name
 Great among the Heathen round:
 Send thee the Angel of thy Birth, to stand
 Fast by thy side, who from thy Fathers field
 Rode up in flames after his message told
 Of thy conception, and be now a shield
 Of fire;

S.A. I427-I435.

We find this idea in Diodati on Psalm 91.3, II, I4; the angels protecting the believer from:

V3. From the snare)viz. from all ambushments and dangers. And by bodily ones, are chiefly meant, the spiritual, which proceed from the Devil and Sin.

V.II. In all)viz. In all thy actions and undertakings, and likewise in all the chances of thy life, following thy vocation.

V.I4. On high)viz. Out of the reach of all assaults and hurts.

and on Matt.4.6:

V.6. Bear thee up) That is, they shall take such care of thee, that no hurt shall come unto thee.

Diodati here sums up this idea of the guarding angels, who take care of the believers so that no hurt shall come unto them in all their actions and undertakings and in all the chances of life; protecting them from all dangers, especially those that proceed from the Devil, for they are out of reach of all assaults and dangers.

Fountain of Water

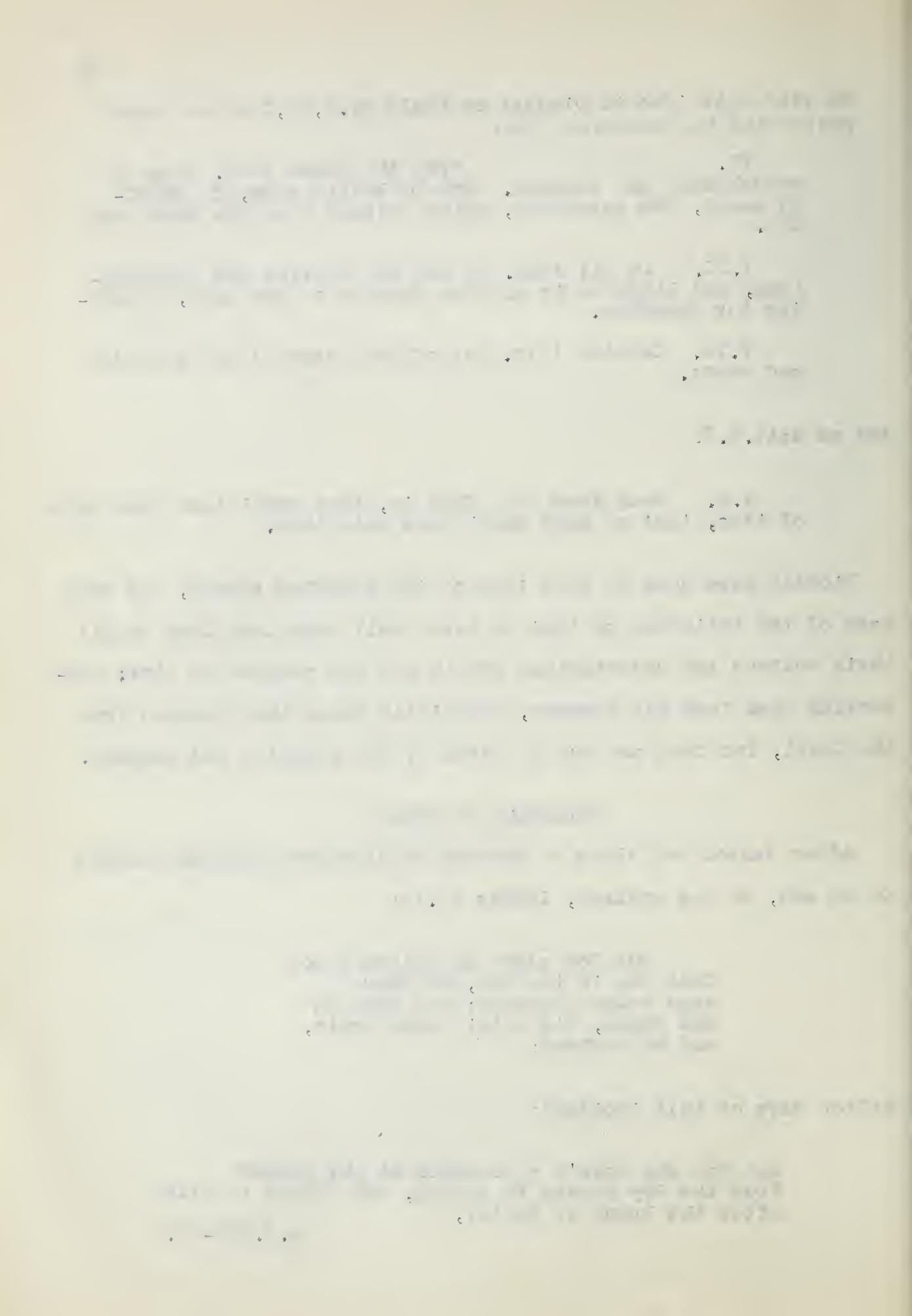
After Samson had slain a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass, he was athirst, Judges 15.19:

But God clave an hollow place
that was in the jaw, and there
came water thereout; and when he
had drunk, his spirit came again,
and he revived:

Milton says of this incident:

But God who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer
From the dry ground to spring, thy thirst to allay
After the brunt of battel,

S.A.58I-83.



Verity says on this:

This has been interpreted by scholars to mean (i) from the jaw itself, or (ii) from the cavity of a rock, the place being called Lehi; substituting "in Lehi" for "in the jaw." Milton follows this view.¹

Josephus interprets it as a certain rock:

God...raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock.²

Diodati in his Annotations on Judges 15.19 says:

V.19. In the Jaw) or, one of the teeth which was in the jaw-bone.

It would seem here that Milton follows Josephus and not Diodati.

Spies

According to the Scriptures the Philistines brought thirty companions to be with Samson as bridal friends at the time of his marriage to the woman of Timnath:

And it came to pass, when they saw him, that they brought thirty companions to be with him.

Judges 14.11.

Milton represents these companions as Spies who under the pretence of bridal friends obtained from his wife the answer to his riddle. At this point Milton does not follow directly the Scriptures:

did not she

Of Timna first betray me, and reveal

¹ A.W.Verity, Samson Agonistes, p.92, notes.

² Flavius Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, Bk.V.8.9.

The secret wrested from me in her hight
 Of Nuptial Love profest, carrying it strait
 To them who had corrupted her, my Spies,
 S.A.382-87.

and later Samson says:

Among the Daughters of the Philistines
 I chose a Wife, which argu'd me no foe;
 And in your City held my Nuptial Feast:
 But your ill-meaning Politician Lords,
 Under pretence of Bridal friends and guests,
 Appointed to await me thirty spies,
 Who threatening cruel death constrain'd the bride
 To wring from me and tell to them my secret,
 That solv'd the riddle which I had propos'd.
 S.A.II92-I200.

Diodati interprets these companions as spies who were to sift Samson, perceiving some terrible motions in him:

They brought) Under pretence of keeping him
 company, and honouring him, but it was in deed to sift
 him, and look to him, perceiving some terrible motions
 in him.

Judges I4.II.

Josephus at this point says:

Now the people of Timnath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him, during the time of the wedding-feast (for he feasted them all,) thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretence to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance.^I

Milton in representing the companions as spies then is in harmony with the interpretations of Diodati and Josephus, and could have followed either one; or had, as he very probably did, both interpretations before him.

I op.cit., Bk.V.8.6.

Dalila

Milton represents Dalila as a Philistine woman and the wife of Samson. That she was a Philistine woman there can be little doubt. But whether she has been considered the wife of Samson by any other writer, we have been unable to discover. Whether then Milton had some foundation for so representing Dalila; or, whether he so has her to fit into his purpose of representing conjugal relations, is a question. That this was Milton's purpose seems evident; and that only with Dalila as the wife of Samson could Milton have given us his thought on the relation of man and wife, which was one of his favorite themes.

We have no solution of this question to offer. Diodati is silent at this point, and Josephus seems to think her a harlot. We merely throw the matter open here as a question for Miltonscholars.

Dalila is proclaimed the wife of Samson by the Chorus:

Some rich Philistine Matron she may seem,
And now at nearer view, no other certain
Than Dalila thy wife.

S.A.722-24.

Dalila offers conjugal affection as a reason for her visit:

But conjugal affection
Prevailing over fear, and timerous doubt
Hath led me on desirous to behold
Once more thy face, and know of thy estate.

S.A.739-42.

But Samson is not deceived:

Not truly penitent, but chief to try

Her husband, how far urg'd his patience bears,
His verture or weakness which way to assail:

S.A. 754-56.

and:

If in my flower of youth and strength, when all men
Lov'd, honour'd, fear'd me, thou alone could hate me
Thy Husband, slight me, sell me, and forgo me;

S.A. 938-40.

That she was a Philistine we have in the words of Dalila:

Thou knowest the Magistrates
And Princes of my countrey came in person,
Sollicited, commanded, threatn'd, urg'd,
Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil Duty
And of Religion, press'd how just it was,
How honourable, how glorious to entrap
A common enemy, who had destroy'd
Such numbers of our Nation:

S.A. 850-57.

But in my countrey where I most desire,
In Ebron, Gaza, Asdod, and in Gath
I shall be nam'd among the famousest
Of women, sung at solemn festivals,
Living and dead recorded, who to save
Her countrey from a fierce destroyer, chose
Above the faith of wedlock-bands,

S.A. 980-86.

And in the words of Samson:

Why then
Didst thou at first receive me for thy husband?
Then, as since then, thy countrey's foe profest:
Being once a wife, for me thou wast to leave
Parents and countrey;

S.A. 882-86.

In Paradise Lost Dalila is called a Philistine Harlot:

So rose the Danite strong
 Herculean Samson from the Harlot-lap
 Of Philistine Dalilah, and wak' d
 Shorn of his strength,

P.L.9.I059-62.

Milton may be following Josephus here, who assumes that she was both a Philistine and a harlot:

However, he at length transgressed the laws of his Country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman that was a harlot among the Philistines: her name was Delilah, and he lived with her.¹

Dr. Gilbert says, "Though she is represented as Samson's law-²ful wife, her character is that of the harlot." In a footnote in this place he further says:

Milton's representation of Dalila as the wife of Samson is unusual. She is usually accepted as a harlot even by writers who make Samson an allegorical type of Christ.

Verity says:

Note that the Bible does not say that she was a Philistine. Josephus takes it for granted; so ofcourse does Milton throughout Samson Agonistes, and the view is generally held.³

Verity further says in this place that the Bible does not state that Dalila was Samson's wife; that Milton has followed Josephus in his reference in Paradise Lost; and that Milton wished here to emphasize the resemblance to his own case.

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Op. cit. Bk.V.8.II.

2

A.H.Gilbert, Milton on the Position of Woman, II.240.

3

Op. cit.p.98,Notes.

Diodati has nothing to say on this point.

Lydgate in his Fall of Princes seems to imply that Dalila is Samson's wife; and the editor in his marginal notes would seem to so interpret it. ^I Lydgate referring to Dalila in the Story of Samson says:

For yiff wyues be founden variable, 2
Where shal husbandis fynden other stable.

Lydgate would seem here to imply that Dalila was Samson's wife; and the editor by way of interpretation in the marginal notes says, "Nothing is worse than a secret enemy, especially if it be one's own wife."

Milton doubtless knew this book and it could have been that he had this behind his representation.

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See Appendix F. Supplied by Dr. Gilbert.

2

Henry Bergen, Lydgate's Fall of Princes, I.6413-89.

PROSE WORKS

CHAPTER VI

Prose Works

In Milton's Prose Works we have his thought on the many questions which perplexed the mind of his day. In his theology in a broad sense we find him at one with Calvin and St. Augustine on these fundamental doctrines:- Special creation of man; Fall from grace; Salvation through Christ; Temptation of Satan; Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection and Final Judgment. However he breaks with orthodox Calvinism on the ruling tenet of the Reformation, the doctrine of predestination and free will. Calvinism placed emphasis on the grace of God, who determined from all eternity the role of the damned and the elect; and man played a small part in his own salvation.

On the other hand Milton emphasizes the moral responsibility of man together with the absolute freedom of the human will. Milton holds that God predestined to salvation those who he foreknew would believe and continue in the faith. With him man's individual choice could not be replaced by Christ's atonement. Christ was the pattern for humanity rather than the vicarious sufferer.

Conflict of Evil with Good

Milton's central theme in Paradise Lost is the operation of divine justice through which Paradise was lost to man as a con-
I J.H.Hanford, A Milton Handbook, pp.178-80.

sequence of his own sin and restored to him by the exercise of the righteous will.¹ This might also be said to be the central theme of Comus, Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes.

Hanford says:

Milton, like all Puritans, detected in every phase of human experience the presence of a moral conflict; to interpret it in terms of the eternal struggle of the good and evil. Victory or defeat in this struggle is the crucial issue in the lives of men with Milton. Hence temptation yielded to or overcome, is a dominant motive of his creative art.²

Paradise Lost is the representation of man's personal heroic conflict with the evil of the world; born with an innate tendency to sin yet with a will free to choose the good rather than the evil. Man finds then in the over-coming of evil with good, virtue which in itself is its own reward: He loses Eden through evil overcoming good; and through Christ, the Greater Man, in his overcoming evil with good, he is shown the way to a 'Paradise within' which is happier, P.L. I2.585-7:

Then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
A Paradise within thee, happier far!

Christ is represented then in Paradise Regained as the revealer of the way to the New Paradise by the overcoming of evil with good. He is the tempted Christ, the representative of humanity, rather than the vicarious sufferer. The Temptation is then his theme rather than the crucifixion.

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2 J.H. Hanford, "Milton and the Return to Humanism," in Studies in Philology, xvi (April 1919), 126-47.

Op.cit., "

The Temptation Motive in Milton," xv (April 1918), 176ff.

Milton is convinced of the Fact of Evil, one of the postulates of the Renaissance Humanism and of Puritanism. This evil in the world which is opposed to good and subservient to good he accepts as fact with faith and hope. Satan becomes the personification of evil and is left to his own dark designs; not only that he may heap on himself his own damnation, for evil is self-destructive, but that his malice may serve to bring forth infinite goodness, grace and mercy bestowed on Man by him seduced:

but that the will

And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
 Left him at large to his own dark designs,
 That with reiterated crimes he might
 Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
 Evil to others, and enraged might see
 How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
 Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn
 On Man by him seduc't, but on himself
 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.

P.L.I.209-20.

Satan says to Beelzebub:

If then his Providence
 Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
 Our labour must be to pervert that end,
 And out of good still to find means of evil;

P.L.I.162-5.

This conflict is one of Milton's chief philosophical tenets. In this is his interpretation of the temptation of Man and Christ. While in the Christian Doctrine we find little said of Satan, in Milton's poetry we find that he created the character, Satan, as the representation of the active evil in the world with which man has to contend.

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Loc. cit.

2 A.H. Gilbert, "The Problem of Evil in Paradise Lost", The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, xxii (April 1923), 2.

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This evil concupiscence, the innate propensity to sin, was found in Adam and Eve before the act of sin; in Eve as she wanders with pride and in Adam as he is prone to be too moved with female charm.

Free-Obedience

That man was created with a free will, that goodness comes from free-obedience, is held by Milton together with the necessity of choice between evil and good for the operation of this free will:

Nor does this reasoning represent God as depending upon the human will, but as fulfilling his own pleasure, whereby he has chosen that man should always use his own will with a regard to the love and worship of the Deity and consequently with a regard to his own salvation. If this use of the will be not admitted whatever of worship or love we render to God is entirely vain and of no value; the acceptableness of duties done under a law of necessity is diminished, or rather is annihilated altogether, inasmuch as freedom can no longer be attributed to that will over which some fixed decree is inevitably suspended.²

Raphael sets forth this fact of free-obedience in his conversation with Adam:

That thou art happie, owe to God;
 That thou continu'st such, owe to thy self,
 That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
 This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.
 God made thee perfet, not immutable;
 And good he made thee, but to persevere
 He left it in thy power, ordaind thy will
 By nature free, not over-rul'd by Fate
 Inextricable, or strict necessity;
 Our voluntarie service he requires,
 Not our necessitated, such with him
 Findes no accaptance, nor can find, for how
 Can hearts, not free, be tri'd whether they serve
 Willing or no, who will but what they must
 By Destinie, and can no other choose?

P.L.5.520-34.

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C.R. Sumner, The Prose Works of John Milton, iv. Christian Doctrine, I. iv. 259, cited hereafter as Christ. Doct.

2

Christ. Doct. I. iv. 63.

God in the Council of Heaven justifies himself in man's fall by
free-obedience, P.L.3.95-I32:

So will fall

Hee and his faithless Progenie: whose fault?
Whose but his own? ingrate, he had of mee
All he could have; I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
Such I created all th' Ethereal Powers
And Spirits, both them who stood & them who faild:
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have givn sincere
Of true allegiance, constant Faith or Love,
Where onely what they needs must do, appeard,
Not what they would? what praise could they receive?
What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
When Will and Reason Reason also is choice)
Useless and vain, of freedom both despoild,
Made passive both, had served necessitie,
Not mee. They therefore as to right belongd,
So were created, nor can justly accuse
Thir maker, or thir making, or thir Fate;
As if Predestination over-rul' d
Thir will, disposed by absolute Decree
Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed
Thir own revolt, not I: if I foreknew,
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
Which had no less prov'd certain unforekown.
So without least impulse or shadow of Fate,
Or aught by me immutablie foreseen,
They trespass, Authors to themselves in all
Both what they judge and what they choose; for so
I formed them free, and free they must remain,
Till they enthrall themselves: I else must change
Thir nature, and revoke the high Decree
Unchangeable, Eternal, which ordain'd
Thir freedom, they themselves ordain'd thir fall.
The first sort by thir own suggestion fell,
Self-tempted, self-deprav'd: Man falls deceiv'd
By the other first: Man therefore shall find grace,
The other none: in Mercy and Justice both,

Here in the Council in Heaven, God foretells to his Son the Fall of
Man, clearing his own Justice and Wisdom from all imputation, hav-
ing created Man free and able enough to have withstood his Tempter;
yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell
I
not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduced.

Milton then in the justification of God in his ways not only to man but to Satan as well, sets forth clearly and logically his thought on free-obedience implied in his interpretation of Predestination which is contrary to the fundamental belief of Calvin and his followers.

Predestination

Milton sets forth his doctrine of Predestination in his Prose Works as a special decree of God relating to man, made when God in pity to mankind, foreseeing that they would fall of their own accord, predestined to eternal salvation before the foundation of the world those who should believe and continue in the faith. He says that it has been the practice of the schools to use the word predestination not only in the sense of election, but also of reprobation. He however holds that when mentioned in the Scripture ^I election alone is uniformly intended, and refers to Romans 8.29,30:

29 For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren.

30 Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified.

Diodati says on Romans 8.29,30:

For whom) He proves that the order and sequele of the salvation of Gods children, can no way be broken by any accident; namely, because it is all the work of God, who is Almighty and invariable. Foreknew) That is to say, chosen from everlasting, and, as it were, marked

and accepted from amongst other men: so is the word of knowing taken,... Predestinate) that is, appointed to be conformable, in life and celestial glory, to his Son their head, and that by the order and sequele of resembling him in many things in this world, but particularly in affections, That he)viz. because he would have his own Son have many adoptive brethren, whose Head he should be, as the first-born were in their families.

Predestinate, them he) This verse joyned with the former, is a figure or manner of speech called Gradation, viz. when men ascend by degrees, or step by step.

Them he also glorified) That is to say, he shall certainly and infallibly glorifie them. The cause, ground and pledge whereof is in Christ's glorification(who is their Head) which is already hapned.....

Further Diodati says on Romans II.2:

Foreknew) That is to say; Chosen, and preordained from everlasting to salvation,...

And on I.Peter I.2:

Elect)viz. Separated from the world by God's effectual calling, which is the execution of the Eternal election. The Foreknowledge) Ital.Preordination; that is to say, a Decree made by Gods certain knowledge and judgment,... Through sanctification)viz. sanctifying you really by his Spirit, to whom it belongs to make Gods calling firm and effectual,...Unto obedience) viz. that making yourselves obedient through faith in the Gospel, you may be partakers of the benefit of the Lords death, to the remission of your sins. Or, he declares the two ends of the Believers calling, which are the justification in the blood of Christ; and the new obedience through the sanctification of the Spirit, and the Apostle doth not say, because you should obey, or because he foresaw you would obey; for the cause of our obedience is Gods free election.

We have then Diodati's interpretation:- Salvation of God's children, chosen from everlasting, marked and accepted from amongst other men, separated from the world by God's effectual calling, Preordination, a decree made by God's certain know-

ledge and judgment, His spirit to whom it belongs to make God's calling firm and effectual; the Elect making themselves obedient through faith, which obedience is however because of God's free election. Diodati speaks here it is true of the elect only, however in attributing man's obedience to God's free election, we have the principal tenet of Calvinism expressed. It must be remembered that Diodati was the champion of Calvinism at the Assembly of Dordrecht against the Arminian doctrine, which the Calvinists opposed as annulling the election of grace and making man the arbiter of his own salvation. It is true however as Hanford says that the Protestant poet is influenced where he is in fundamental disagreement.

Reprobation

Milton does not include Reprobation under Predestination in his interpretation of the Scriptures; but holds that it has reference to the elect only. He says:

Predestination, therefore, must always be understood with reference to election, and seems often to be used instead of the latter term.²

He then cites the following references:

Elect according to the foreknowledge
of God the Father,

IPeter 1.2.

Put on therefore, as the elect
of God, holy and beloved, bowels of
mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind,
meekness, longsuffering.

Colossians 3.12.

¹

Hanford, op.cit.p.193.

² Christ. Doct. I.iv.45.

" Reprobation therefore could not be included under predestination."¹ Milton says with reference to I Tim. 2.4:

Who will have all men to be saved,
and to come unto the knowledge of
the truth.

Milton on 2 Peter 3.9:

The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.

says:

2 Pet. 3.9. to us-ward, that is, towards all men, not towards the elect only as some interpret it,³ but particularly towards the wicked, Rom. 9.22: " God endured ... the vessels of wrath."

For if, as some object,⁴ Peter would scarcely have included himself among the unbelievers, much less would he have numbered himself among such of the elect as had not yet come to repentance.

3. So Estius, Beza, Piscator, Gomar.
4. Quis vero non videat apostolum....electos confirmare, Quibus et ipse se adjungit? Beza in loc.²

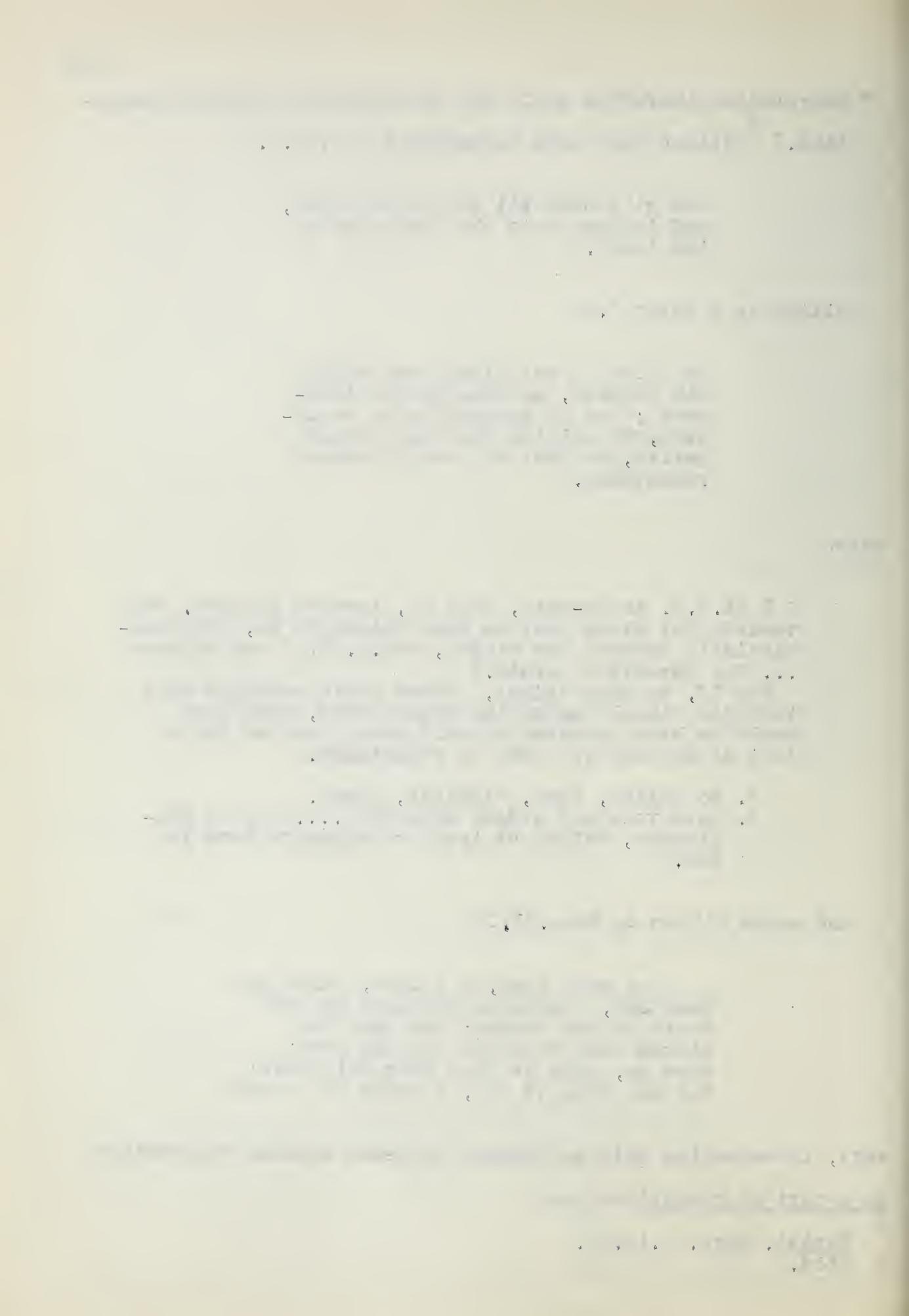
And again Milton on Ezek. 33, II:

Say unto them, As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?

says, interpreting this as further evidence against reprobation as a part of predestination:

¹ Christ. Doct. I.iv.45.

² Ibid.



If therefore the Deity have no pleasure either in sin or in the death of the sinner, that is, either in the cause or the effect of reprobation, certainly he can not delight in reprobation itself. It follows, that reprobation forms no part of what is meant by divine predestination.¹

To Milton the matter of predestination was that man was to fall through the exercise of his will, and hence of his own accord, sin originating in himself alone, for a manifestation of divine grace; which was the ultimate purpose of predestination:

7

Not man as a being who was to be created, but man as a being who was to fall of his own accord, that was the matter of predestination; for that manifestation of divine grace and mercy, . . . which God designed as the ultimate purpose of predestination, presupposes the existence of sin and misery in man, originating from himself alone.

7. Taught by St. Augustine, and maintained by the Synod of Dort.²

Milton cites the following Scripture in proof of this:

To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.

Eph. I. 6.

9 In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him.

10 Herein is love, not that we loved God but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.

I John 4.9, 10.

Preterition

Milton refutes the notion of preterition, passing by the rep-

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Op.cit.47.

2

Ibid.

robate withholding from him the means of grace, and desertion from all eternity as held by Calvin. He holds that this grace is for those who should believe and continue in the faith. ^I

In proof of this he cites 2 Tim.2.19:

Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal The Lord knoweth them that are his. And, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.

From this he concludes:

It seems, then, that there is no particular predestination or election, but only general,- or in other words, that the privilege belongs to all who heartily believe and continue in their belief... Thus the general decree of election becomes personally applicable to each particular believer, and is ratified to all who remain steadfast in the faith.²

The reprobate alone who neglects and scorns this grace is excluded from his mercy, P.L.3.198-202:

This my long sufferance and my day of grace
They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
But hard be hard'd, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
And none but such from mercy I exclude.

Further Milton says," Predestination depends upon a condition, ³ faith in Christ." He refers here to John 3.16:

For God so loved the world,
that he gave his only begotten Son, that
whosoever believeth in him should not
perish, but have everlasting life.

I

Christ. Doct. I.iv.48.

2

Op.cit. pp.49-51.

3

Op.cit. p.52.

The fact that predestination is dependent upon the will of man and that therefore God is defrauded of part of the glory of salvation as held by Calvin in his Institutes and the School of Divines in general, is refuted by Milton in that on the other hand it makes clearer the glory and wisdom of God. ^I

Milton further argues:

If then God reject none but the disobedient and unbelieving, he undoubtedly gives grace to all, if not in equal measure, at least sufficient for attaining knowledge of the truth and final salvation.²

This he sets forth in P.L. 3.183-93.:

Some I have chosen of peculiar grace
Elect above the rest; so is my will:
The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warnd
Thir sinful state, and to appease betimes
Th' incensed Deitie while offerd grace
Invites; for I will clear thir senses dark,
What may suffice, and soft'n stonie hearts
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
Though but endevord with sincere intent,
Mine eare shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.

Diodati says on I Tim.2.4:

All men)viz. All manner of men, of all nations and qualities; for he refers this to what he had said before, v.i. namely, that prayers and supplications must be made for all men....

And on I.Tim.2.1:

For all men) namely, without distinction of nation, estate, or condition.

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Op.cit. p.64.

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Op.cit. p.66.

Diodati's interpretation here of all men as all manner of men without distinction of nation or condition, is different from that of Milton who interprets it as all men whatsoever, and from this argues that reprobation is not included under predestination.

Diodati holds that long-suffering on God's part was toward the elect that they might be converted and toward the wicked that they might be made inexcusable. This does not suggest that grace was for the wicked. "Not willing," here applies only to the elect who had not repented. While he speaks of the gospel by which all men are invited, this seems limited here to the elect. "That any," he clearly understands to mean the elect only; 2 Pet. 3.9:

long-suffering) that is to say, if there be any manner of stay in his coming, as the flesh falsely conceiveth, that it is not through forgetfulness or slowness, but through patience to give his elect time to be converted, and so to make up the number, and likewise to make the wicked inexcusable. Not willing) he doth not here speak of Gods secret and everlasting decree, by which he chuseth whom he thinks good, but of the preaching of the Gospel, by which all men are invited. The number therefore of the Elect must be made full, before Judgment comes. That any) namely, of us, or of the Elect, who are his, as we are.

Diodati on Romans 9.22 :

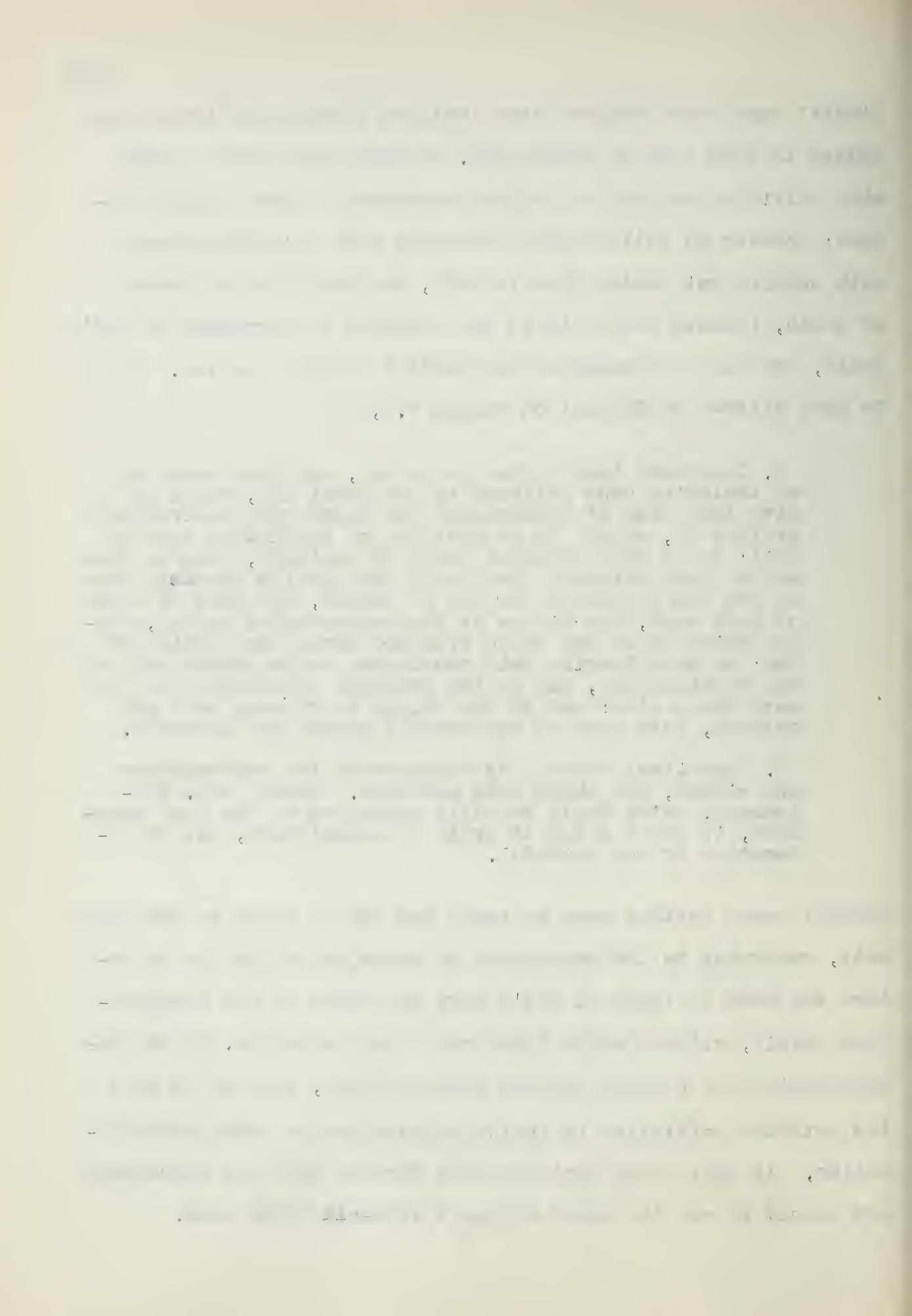
What if God) viz. Is there any cause of contending with God, seeing that in the most free exercise of his sovereign right, in saving the one, and punishing the other, he useth an infinite forbearance towards the wicked, to draw them to repentance, which howsoever doth nothing but harden them in evil, Rom. 2.4,5. This seems to have special relation to the Jewish Nation, toward whom God had used an extreme patience, before he did utterly reject them. His wrath) Or, vengeance. The vessels) namely, those men upon whom he meant to exercise his severe judgment, likened before to vessels of dishonour. Fitted) viz. whose state of sin and corruption, not pardoned nor corrected by God's grace, is fit for no other use, but onely to be examples and subjects of his justice.

Diodati says here that God used infinite forbearance towards the wicked to draw them to repentance. He would seem here to part with Calvinism and not to include reprobation under predestination; however he follows this by saying that this forbearance doth nothing but harden them in evil, and that they as vessels of wrath, because their sin is not pardoned or corrected by God's grace, are only fit examples and subjects of his justice. This is made clearer by Diodati on Romans 2.4,5:

4. Despisest thou) That is to say, art thou careless of employing Gods patience to its right use, which is to give thee time of repentance? but doeth thou contrariwise profane it, making it an occasion of confirming thee in evil; as if thou shouldst never be punished, because thou art so long forborn? Now being the Apostle speaketh also of men who are under the law of nature, and have no light of Gods word, nor virtue of the regenerating Spirit, without which there can be no true nor saving conversion to God; we must imagine this repentance to be spoken only of the disciplinary, and of the external cessation from the most gross sins; and of the change of vicious acts and customs, into such as are morally honest and laudable.

5. Impenitent heart) He threateneth the contemptuous and wicked, who abuse Gods patience. Wrath)viz. punishment, which shall be fully exercised at the last judgment, it being a day of wrath to unbelievers, but of redemption to the faithful.

Diodati seems further here to apply the day of grace to the elect only, referring to the reprobates as those under the law of nature who have no light of God's word or virtue of the regenerating spirit, without which there can be no salvation. If our interpretation of Diodati at this point is true, then he is with the orthodox Calvinists in including reprobation under predestination. It would seem that he holds further that the reprobates are passed by and the means of grace withheld from them.



Diodati seems also in his comments to have in mind the elect only on Ezek.33.10:

Our transgressions) The meaning is, It is true that your Prophets have admonished us heretofore, and we having neglected your admonitions, do bear our punishment, and are ruined past all relief: what good doth it dothen to speak to us any more of these preservatives against the evils, into which we are already fallen? The Lord answereth, your ruine is not so extreme, but that you may be raised again out of it by true repentance; which comes alwaies in time, either before or after the punishments, so it come during life.

Diodati in his interpretation of Eph.1.6:

Of the glory) namely, of his glorious and admirable favour, by which he hath powerfully brought to an end the work of mans salvation. In the) namely, for the love, and in regard of Christ onely, who hath all the Fathers love, not onely as he is everlasting Son, but also as he is perfectly obedient, and just in his humane nature, and quality of mediatour.

and on I John 4.9,10:

9. In this was manifested) True it is that God hath manifested his love many other wayes, but this surpasseth all the rest. That we might) for Christ hathbrought us life, and without him we remain in death.

10. Herein)viz. Gods love consists not that we having loved him first, he hath enterchangeably loved us again with the like love; but in that he hath prevented us with his love, when we were his enemies, and that he hath no cause to love us, but merely his own goodness.

is clearly with St. Augustine and those at the Synod of Dort to whom Milton makes reference. There is no suggestion here of grace to other than the elect.

Diodati sets forth very clearly his thought on election in his comments on 2 Tim. 2.19:

The Foundation) viz. Gods eternal Election, which is the first foundation of the Believers salvation, laid by God himself, cannot be moved nor overthrown; to have the elect seduced by such heresies, and to fall away from the faith. Having) this election being firm, and settled by Gods eternal decree, concerning those whom he hath taken to himself, and guarded by his continual providence, by which he perfecteth his work in them, yet in such manner, that he will have them co-operate by the power they have received from him, bewareing of all things that are contrary thereunto, both in their life and doctrine....Nameth) that is to say, makes profession of being a Christian.

And on 2 Peter 1.10:

Your calling) Not in it self, which hath all its virtue and subsistency from God and from his pleasure; but in the feeling, certainty, and apprehension, which the believer ought to have of it. Ye shall never fall) viz. you shall run on the race of your heavenly calling with a steddy pace, without disturbance or hindrance as in a plain and even way, and finally come to the end of it without stumbling.

Diodati says on John 3.16:

The World) Namely, mankind in its generality, which being all subject to eternal perdition through sin, God out of his soveraign and absolute good pleasure, hath saved his elect from it; whom he hath taken of all degrees, and out of all nations in the world indifferently, that the whole kind might not perish, but that in this number of elect, as in a new and holy communality, it might subsist before God for ever. A benefit which he hath not imparted to the apostated angels, nor universally to all men.

It is clear that Diodati includes in the saved only the elect of God. It would seem that we have a different interpretation of the saved on John 17.10:

And all mine) Whereupon as thou hast made thine elect, members of my body, to the end that I should redeem them: so have I made all those which believe in me, to be thy children, that thou mightest love, govern, and

perfectly save them. And I am) viz. I do not ask it onely for their good, but likewise for my glory, which is inseparable from thine; and I desire their preservation, seeing in them my kingdome.

In this we have Christ speaking to God of the redemption first of his elect and then of those who become Christ's by their belief in him. This would seem to imply that there are others than the elect who are saved by their faith in Christ. However his interpretation in other passages which we have used would lead us here to understand that he speaks of those of the elect who later professed faith in Christ and by that act became the children of Christ.

Diodati says on John I.12:

As many) Another prerogative of Christ's, who hath conferred upon all believers, the effect and virtue of the spiritual adoption, of which John did onely administer the sign and sacrament in his Baptism.

This does not imply that any who were not of the elect could become members of the elect by professing faith in Christ.

We have then Diodati in his interpretation of the Scriptures at those places from which Milton deduced his theory of predestination, at one with Calvin in the points of Predestination, Reprobation and Preterition. However it is very probable that Milton was thoroughly familiar with the thought of Diodati on these questions, especially since Diodati was one of the leaders of Calvinism at the Synod of Dort. Though Milton here disagrees with Diodati, he was possibly influenced by his his commentations on the Scriptures.

Divorce

Milton holds that incompatibility, arising from an unchangeable cause in nature and hindering the solace and peace of conjugal society, is a just reason for divorce. This opinion he bases on the Scriptures, Deuteronomy 24.1, which gives as ground for divorce some uncleanness found in woman by man. In the Hebrew "uncleanness" is interpreted as nakedness; which Milton says is referred to the mind as well as to the body by all learned interpreters. This nakedness of mind then is interpreted by Milton as unfitness of mind, an unconjugal mind which hinders the peace of the married couple.

In The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce Milton says:

To remove therefore, if it be possible, this great and sad oppression, which through the strictness of a literal interpretation hath invaded and disturbed the dearest and most peaceable estate of household society, to the overburdening, if not the overwhelming of many christians better worth than to be so deserted of the church's considerate care, this position shall be laid down, first proving, then answering what may be objected either from Scripture or light of reason.

That indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace; is a greater reason of divorce than natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and that there be mutual consent.

This I gather from the law in Deut.24.1: "When a man hath taken a wife and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her, let him write her a bill of divorce, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house, "&c. This law, if the words of Christ may be admitted into our belief, shall never, while the world stands, for him be abrogated.

The cause of divorce mentioned in the law is translated "some uncleanness", but in the Hebrew it sounds "nakedness of ought, or any real nakedness": which by all the learned interpreters is referred to the mind as well as to the body. And what greater nakedness or unfitness of mind than that which hinders ever the solace and peaceful society of the married couple? And what hinders that more than the unfitness and defectiveness of an unconjugal mind?

Deuteronomy 24.1-2:

I. When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her: then let him write her a bill of divorce-
ment, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.

2. And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife.

Milton says on these passages:

Two things are here doubted: First, and that but of late, whether this be a law or no; next, what this reason of "uncleanness" might mean, for which the law is granted. That it is a plain law no man ever questioned, till Vatablus within these hundred years professed Hebrew at Paris, a man of no religion, as Beza deciphers him. Yet some there be who follow him, not only against the current of all antiquity, both Jewish and Christian, but the evidence of Scripture also, Malachi ii.16, "Let him who hateth put away, saith the Lord God of Israel." Although this place also hath been tampered with, as if it were to be thus rendered, "The Lord God saith, that he hateth putting away." But this new interpretation rests only in the authority of Junius: for neither Calvin, nor Vatablus himself, nor any other known divine so interpreted before. And they of best note who have translated the Scripture since, and Diodati for one, follow not his reading.^I

Malachi 2.16:

For the Lord, the God of Israel, saith that he hateth putting away: for one covereth violence with his garment, saith the Lord of hosts: therefore take heed to your spirit, that ye deal not treacherously.

Matt. 19.8:

He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suf-

ferred you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so.

Diodati says on Mal.2.16:

Putting away) If the husbands love be alienated from his wife, it were more tolerable for him to make use of the permission of Divorce, Deut.24.1. then to keep and afflict her by means of these strange women. covereth)viz. let him use the civil remedy of divorce, which is but a politick coverture of iniquity, Mat.19. 8,9. so the holy Ghost condemneth divorces in conscience, though God did tolerate them in a politick government.

Milton says further on Deut. 24.1:

Because he hath found some uncleanness in her) That we may not esteem this law to be a mere authorizing of licence, as the P harisees took it, Moses adds the reason: for " some uncleanness found." Some heretofore have been so ignorant, as to have thought that this uncleanness means adultery. But Erasmus, shows learnedly out of the fathers, with other testimonies and reasons, that uncleanness is not here so understood; Afterward, when expositors began to understand the Hebrew text, which they had not done of many ages before, they translated word for word not "uncleanness", but "the nakedness of anything"; and considering that nakedness is usually referred in Scripture to the mind as well as to the body, they constantly expound it any defect, annoyance, or ill quality in nature, which to be joined with, makes life tedious, and such company worse than solitude. I

Diodati says on Deut.24.1:

Uncleness) Namely, some unpleasant and noisom defect, either in the body or in the behaviour, besides fornication or adultery, for which causes there were other laws. Send her) or, let it be lawfull for him to send her away. A judicial law, which doth regulate the licence of divorces in matter of policy; yet doth not approve of them in conscience, Mal.2.16.&c.

However Diodati says on Matt.19.8:

Moses)viz. The law of the indissoluble bond of Matrimony, was the first everlasting and inviolable law, and God altered nothing therein by Moses, onely seeing your Nations rebellion in the liberty they took in divorcing themselves, he did set down a rule for a time in regard of some civil order. But I who am the supreme Law-giver will now, in the days of grace, and of the spirit, bring things unto their first state. Beginning)viz. according to Gods institution.

Milton argues then that uncleanness as the ground for divorce under the law of Moses means incompatibility, and that this interpretation is confirmed by all the learned interpreters. That this is a law, he holds was never questioned except by Vatablus, who was considered by Beza to be a man of no religion. That only Junius interpreted Malachi 2.16 as meaning God hateth putting away, in which he is not followed by any of the interpreters of best note among whom he mentions especially Diodati. Milton further argues that this law shall never be abrogated, if the words of Christ are to be admitted in our belief; though he cites no reference for these words.

Diodati's interpretation is that uncleanness is some displeasant and noisome defect either in the body or in the behavior which has reference to the mind. That this does not have reference to fornication or adultery which are cared for by other laws. For this uncleanness it is lawful for man to send his wife away. This he holds is a judicial law regulating divorces in matter of policy; yet it does not approve divorces in conscience . He further holds that the indissoluble bond of matrimony was the first everlasting and inviolable law, and that it had not been altered, but that Moses set down this rule as a temporary measure to restrain the liberty in divorcing. He holds

that Christ in the day of grace will bring things unto their first estate.

Diodati and Milton then seem to be together in their interpretation of uncleanness as incompatibility as a just ground for divorce under the law of Moses. They disagree however in that Milton holds this to be a permanent law while Diodati takes it as a temporary measure to correct the abuse of divorce, and that Christ will in his day of grace restore the indissoluble bond of matrimony.

References to Diodati

Frequent reference is made by Milton in his Prose Works to the I commentaries of eminent divines with whose work he was familiar. Among these especially noted are:- Calvin, Beza, Paraeus, and Diodati.

In our study of Divorce we have just made mention of Milton's reference to Diodati as one of the divines of note who did not follow Junius in his interpretation of the Scriptures in that place.* This reference shows not only that Milton was familiar with Diodati's work, but that he valued him as a commentator of note. Regarding Milton's mention in the same place of Vatablus, French translator of the Bible, Fletcher says:

The mention of Vatablus serves as an indication that the field of biblical translation was particularly well known and familiar to him, for with Vatablus mentioned, Milton is now known to have been familiar with the translation of the Bible into the three most important languages of his time: The English, the Italian of Diodati, and the French of Vatablus.²

I

J.H.Hanford, A Milton Handbook, p.214.

2

F.H.Fletcher, Milton's Semitic Studies, p.92.

* See p.II0, above.

Milton says in his interpretation relating to the Trinity:

Paul,...ICor.viii.4-6 " We know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one, for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth,(as there be gods many and lords many),but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we by him." Here the expression there is none other God but one, excludes not only all other essences, but all other persons whatever; for it is expressly said in the sixth verse,"that the Father is that one God;" wherefore there is no other person but one; at least in that sense which is intended by divines, when they argue from John xiv. 16. that there is another, for the sake of asserting the personality of the Holy Spirit.^I

*Sumner says in a footnote in this place that Diodati is a friend of Milton's, that his annotations on the Scripture were doubtless well known to Milton, and that Milton probably had Diodati in mind in this place:

The allusion may be, amongst others, to Diodati, the friend of Milton, and whose annotations on Scripture were doubtless well known to him. His remark on this verse is, 'That the Holy Ghost is distinct from the Sonne in his personal subsistence, and in the manner of working in believers'. Diodati's Annotations on the Holy Bible,ed. Edith.,London,1651.

Diodati's comment on John 14.15:

Another) Because that the Holy Ghost is distinct from the Son in his personal subsistence, and in the manner of working in believers, which is by way of seal and inward application of Christs benefits, and by beginning the whole spiritual life, and all the motions thereof in the believer,

would justify Milton's including him among the divines here, and Sumner in thinking that he did.

Milton makes direct reference to Diodati in further discussion of the Trinity; according to Sumner's interpretation:

I will produce a passage in which God himself declares that his name is in an angel. Exod.xxiii.20,21. " behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee in the way,&c., beware of him, and obey his voice; provoke him not, for he will not pardon your transgressions; for my name is in him." The angel who from that time forward addressed the Israelites, and whose voice they were commanded to hear, was always called Jehovah, though the appellation did not properly belong to him. To this they reply, that he was really Jehovah, for that angel was Christ; I Cor.x.9."neither let us tempt Christ" &c. I

6. So the Rabbinical writers, Athanasius among the fathers, and Diodati among modern divines, with all the best commentators.

Diodati, to whom reference is made by Milton above, interprets the Son and God in essence as one; Exodus 23.20-21:

I send) Though it were the Son of God himself who spake unto Moses, yet here he represents the Father or the holy Trinity sending the Son..that is to say, appointing him in his own proper person to accomplish that work, as it appeareth by...I Cor.x.9.

Provoke him not) or, be not rebellious to him. My name) he is of the same essence, and glory with me the Father.

While Hanford says that Milton is not an orthodox Trinitarian,
2
but an Arian.

Further regarding the relation of the Son to God Milton refers to Diodati as being in disagreement with him; again according to the opinion of Sumner:

They also adduce Philipp.ii.6." who being in the form of God"- But this no more proves him to be God than the phrase which follows- " took upon him the form of a servant"- proves that he was really a servant, as the sacred writers nowhere use the word form for actual being. But if it be contended that the form of God is here taken in a philosophical sense for the essential form, this consequence cannot be avoided; that when Christ laid aside the form, he laid aside the substance and the efficiency of God; a doctrine which they protest, and with justice.

9. So Diodati in loc.

I. Christ. Doct.iv.5.p.123.
2. Op. cit. p.180.

To be in the form of God, therefore, seems to be synonymous with being in the image of God; which is often predicated of Christ, even as man is also said, though in a much lower sense, to be the image of God, and to be in the image of God, that is, by creation.¹

Diodati says on Phil. 2.6:

Who being)viz. Not onely true God coessential with his Father, but also appearing to Angels in heaven, no otherwise but in divine glory and majesty. Thought it not) that is to say, he was, without any usurpation, truly equal to God, and had this right by nature, and upon all occasions carried himself as such.

Milton in his interpretation of the temple makes reference to Diodati as being in disagreement with him; again following Sumner's belief:

Matt. xxi.12. " Jesus went into the temple of God." Here however my opponents quote the passage from Malachi iii.1. " the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant.⁸

8. So Diodati in loc. 'Namely the materiall temple in Jerusalem, which was the figure of the church, to preach there, and use his authority as in his own house.'

I answer, that in prophetical language these words signify the coming of the Lord into the flesh, or into the temple of the body, as it is expressed John ii. 21. For the Jews sought no one in the temple as an object of worship, except the Father; and Christ himself in the same chapter has called the temple his Father's house, and not his own.²

Diodati says on Mal. 3.1:

To his temple) namely, the material Temple in Jerusalem, which was the figure of the church, to preach there, and use his authority as in his own house.

These references are further evidence that Milton was familiar

I Chris. Doct. iv. 5. 118.

2

Ibid. p. 105.

with the work of Diodati. That Diodati was considered by him a commentator of note, and that Milton in his theological studies had Diodati often in mind.

This position is further strengthened by Milton's visit to Diodati. In Chapter II of the thesis we quote Milton in his Second Defence of the English People, in which he speaks of holding daily conferences with Diodati at Geneva on his Italian ^I journey.

I

See p. 14, above.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

Milton was very probably influenced in his Biblical thinking by the commentators on the Bible, and their works were perhaps the most helpful of all Milton's sources. He had behind him a long line of Scriptural Commentary by eminent divines with whose work he was familiar. These he had studied from his youth together with many other theological books, which were esteemed highly by English Puritan families.

While Milton says that his theological treatise was based on the Scriptures, yet he was indebted to theological predecessors for both material and method. Many of the scholars of the sixteenth century are mentioned in his works, and for him to mention a scholar implied a knowledge of his work. He was familiar with the translation of the Bible into the three important languages; The English, the Italian of Diodati, and the French of Vatablus. Among the commentators mentioned by Milton in his prose work was Giovanni Diodati; distinguished professor of theology, eloquent preacher, learned commentator, trans-

lator of the Bible into French and Italian, friend of Beza and fellow student of Calvin, and leader of the liberal movement against the yoke of Rome in the seventeenth century.

Through an intimate friendship with Charles Diodati, son of Dr. Theodore Diodati and nephew of the Genevese theologian, Milton probably heard of and may have met this distinguished uncle. On his Italian journey Milton remained in Geneva several weeks and held daily conferences with the learned professor of theology.

While Diodati led the Protestant movement in Italy in his day and was the champion of Calvinism in its conflict with the Arminian faith at the Assembly of Dordrecht; and while Milton on the other hand was to be found in his thinking on predestination and election with the Arminians, emphasizing the part that man played with his free will in his own salvation; yet we find that Milton and Diodati have much in common and are often at one in their interpretations of the Scriptures.

In Paradise Lost we find that Milton's angelology came from St. Paul and possibly the Reformation scholars rather than the system of Pseudo-Dionysius. St. Paul's thought on this was enlarged on by Diodati and we may believe that Milton had Diodati in mind when he thought out his system.

In the War in Heaven Milton has Christ on the third day win the victory over Satan. Revelations 12.7 is the foundation passage of Scripture for his representation of this war. In this Michael and his angels fought against the dragon. Diodati in his annotations on this passage says that Christ had been made the

true Michael, namely the Head of the Angels. Milton then could have drawn his idea of the victorious Christ from Diodati.

Milton in naming the apostate angels after the Pagan idols and Heathen Deities we find could have been following the Scriptures as interpreted by Diodati rather than the medieval notion. Milton in his narratives always followed the Scriptures in preference to other sources.

In representing the Son of God going forth to battle in the Chariot of Paternal Deity, Milton may have had Diodati's interpretation in mind.

On the other hand we find that Milton has interpreted the forming of the Universe by the use of the golden compasses differently from Diodati, who interprets the compasses in the sense of a circle.

The notion that God and Adam named the creation according to their respective control and government is not found in the Scriptures, but we do find that Diodati has this idea in his Annotations, and it is possible that Milton could have had this interpretation before him.

The suggestion from Satan that the prohibition of the Tree of Knowledge might be due to God's envy, while not clearly implied in the Scriptures, is found in both Diodati and Calvin with whom Milton is familiar. He could have therefore followed either one in this notion.

We have a striking similarity of thought on the relative relation of man and woman between Milton and Diodati. And while the foundation of Milton's thought was doubtless in Paul, how-

ever in the expansion of that thought he probably had before him the thought of Diodati.

In their interpretation of the Tree of Knowledge as the symbol of man's obedience and the Tree of Life as a sacrament before the fall of man and the symbol of Eternal Life after the fall, Milton and Diodati are together.

Milton's representation of Adam's fall being due to his weakness in being overcome with female charm is paralleled by Diodati's interpretation of the cause as obsequiousness, which connotes excessive devotion and hence implies weakness due to female charm.

Milton held that Adam in his sin transgressed the whole law, and in this opinion he would seem to be in harmony with the divines who reckoned under the one act of the eating of the forbidden fruit many sins. With these divines we find Diodati in agreement in that he interprets the law as an indivisible total.

In Paradise Regained while Milton in his interpretation of the Spirit by which Christ was led into the wilderness may have been following the Scriptures; yet his use of the phrase 'some strong motion' might have been suggested by Diodati's interpretation of 'a vehement motion of the Holy Ghost.'

There seems a striking similarity between Milton's idea of the purpose of the Temptation and Diodati's interpretation. Both say that it is to show that the Son of God is worthy of his divine birth by the exercise of his humiliation. Both say that Christ is to gain the victory over Satan by the conquest of the Spirit, that men may be assured of his certain victory over all the endeavors of the evil spirit.

Milton in the Temptation of Hunger represents Christ as feeling no hunger during the forty days of fast fed with holiest meditations. At the end of the forty days he first hungered, and then it was that Satan made his first attack on Christ. Christ places his spiritual hunger above his physical hunger and is fed by better thoughts hungering to do his Father's will. This is in harmony in detail with Diodati's interpretation, both of the hunger and fast of Christ.

Milton's Satan is obscure in his knowledge of the realm of the things of the spirit, for this knowledge was denied him. This obscure knowledge on the part of Satan explains Milton's representation of Satan's doubt of Christ's deity, which is a very dominant element in the Temptations. This idea of Satan's obscure knowledge is not drawn from the Scriptural story of the Temptation; but is clearly brought out by Diodati. It is very probable then it would seem that we have found an influence of Diodati upon the thought of Milton.

Again we find that the idea of the permitted power of Satan as used by Milton is very clearly set forth by Diodati in his annotations at that point.

Milton may have caught his idea of the vision or illusion used in the Temptation of the Kingdoms directly from the Scriptures; however we find this same interpretation in Diodati.

In the Third Temptation Milton is at variance with the Scriptures and Diodati in his interpretation of the pinnacle. However this does not argue that Milton did not have before him Diodati; but on the other hand it argues rather that he did, but

chose to follow Josephus at this point or to create a temple of his own to suit his purpose of revealing to Satan Christ as the Son of God by a miracle without Christ's conscious use of his miraculous power.

In Samson Agonistes we find a similarity between Milton and Diodati in their interpretation of the Spirit which attended Samson as a mighty impulse in the decisions of his life, and bestowed in a great degree upon those chosen as the deliverers of their people. Likewise in the guardian angels who care for the believers.

Milton seems to follow Josephus in his interpretation of the fountain of water; while in the representation of the companions of Samson at his wedding feast as spies we find that Milton could have followed either Diodati or Josephus; and we conclude that he had both interpretations before him.

In the representation of Dalila as the wife of Samson we find that while Milton probably followed Josephus in Paradise Lost in calling her a harlot, yet he seems to be alone in his notion of her as his wife. However we find apparently the same idea in Lydgate's Fall of Princes.

In his Prose Works Milton breaks with orthodox Calvinism on the ruling tenet of the Reformation, predestination and election. Milton became finally an independent in thought and emphasized the moral responsibility of man in the absolute freedom of the human will. With him man's choice and not Christ's atonement is the important thing in man's salvation. For this choice there has to exist evil as well as good, which is one of the postulates of

Puritanism. There was then in man an innate propensity to sin, and Satan becomes the personification of evil. With Milton those who should believe and continue in the faith were predestined as the elect, while reprobation was not included in predestination. Diodati in his interpretation at this point attributes man's obedience to God's free election, and in this we find him in disagreement with Milton.

Milton refutes the doctrine of preterition and denies that God is defrauded of part of the glory of salvation by man's free-obedience as held by the Calvinists. Diodati nowhere suggests that grace is possible for the wicked, and is therefore with Calvin and not Milton at this point. Though in disagreement with Diodati, Milton was probably very familiar with his thought on this question. This would seem to be especially true since Diodati was one of the defenders of Calvinism in the struggle with the Arminian doctrine.

In Milton's thought on Divorce he interprets 'uncleanness' of the Scriptures as incompatibility of the spirit, and holds that to be just ground for divorce. Diodati is with him in this interpretation; however while Milton argues that this law shall never be abrogated, Diodati holds that it is only a judicial law regulating divorces for the time in matter of policy, and that Christ in his day of grace will bring things under their first estate.

Among the noted divines with whose work Milton was familiar we find Calvin, Beza, Paraeus, and Diodati; to whom he often refers in his prose work. While many of these references are at

places in which Milton is not in agreement with the divines, at the same time it shows that Milton had knowledge of their work and esteemed them as commentators of note.

As stated in the Preface the purpose of our thesis has been to show an intellectual relationship between Milton and Diodati, and a possible influence on the thought of Milton by Diodati.

It is clear that Milton was familiar with the work of the most noted commentators on the Scriptures. Among these commentators Diodati was personally well known by Milton. Milton had probably known of him through his intimate friendship with Charles Diodati; and had held personal conferences with him on his Italian journey. Similarity as well as difference of interpretation of the Scriptures by Milton and Diodati has been found; and an intellectual relationship and possible influence has been revealed in their interpretation, and probably confirmed by direct references of Milton to the work of Diodati.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A

Ancestry of Diodati

| | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <u>Michele Diodati</u> | <u>Anna Buonvisi</u> | Lucca 16 Century |
| : | : | |
| : | : | |
| <u>3rd son</u> | : | |
| : | : | |
| : | : | |
| <u>Carolo Diodati</u> | <u>Marie Mei</u> | Protestant Lyons to Geneva 1572 |
| : | : | |
| : | : | |
| <u>Joseph</u> | <u>Theodore</u> | <u>Jean or Giovanni</u> 1576-1649 |
| : | 1547 | Married 1600 |
| : | | Maddalena Burlamacchi |
| : | | |
| : | | |
| <u>Married English woman</u> | <u>England</u> | |
| : | | |
| <u>Philadelphia</u> | <u>John</u> | <u>Charles</u> |
| | | |
| | | I609-I638 |

B

Diodati's Greek Letters

Diodati, it will be remembered, had been at Trinity College, Oxford, since Feb. 1622-3. He and Milton, however had been in the habit of meeting each other in London in the college vacations, and of corresponding with each other at other times. Diodati, it seems, had a fancy for writing his letters occasionally in Greek; and two Greek letters of his to Milton are still extant.³ Neither is dated; but the first bears evidence of having been written in or near London, and sent to Milton by a messenger, when the distance between the two friends was not so great but that Diodati might have gone with it himself.. The missive, which is headed Θεοδοτος Μιλτων ευφραισθαι ("Diodati to Milton, to cheer up") runs as follows:

The present condition of the weather appears too jealously disposed for what we agreed upon lately at parting, stormy and unsettled as it has been now for two whole days; but for all that, so much do I long for your society that in my longing, I am dreaming, and all but prophesying, fine weather and calm, and all things golden, for tomorrow, that we may regale ourselves mutually with philosophical and learned discourses. On this account, therefore, I wished to write to you, expressly to invite you forth and put courage into you, fearing that, in despair of sunshine and enjoyment, at least for the present, you were turning your mind to something else. Yet now take courage, my friend, and stand to what was arranged between us, and put on a holiday frame of mind and one gayer than today deserves. For tomorrow all will go well, and air and sun and stream and trees and birds and earth and men will keep holiday with us, and laugh with us, and, be it said without offence, dance with us. Only you be ready, either to start when I call for you, or, without being called for, to come to one who is longing for you. Αὐτομάτος δέ οὐ λαες Σοιν ἀναθέος Μενέλαιος * Farewell.¹

³ originals, British Museum.

* see Il. 2, 408.

Not long after the excursion anticipated in this letter, if it ever came off and if we have dated it correctly, the two friends had separated again, to return to their colleges. Milton for his second year at Cambridge, and Diodati for his fourth at Oxford. On the 10th of December 1625 Diodati took his B.A. degree. After taking the degree he seems to have left his college to reside for a while in Cheshire...before beginning his intended study of medicine. It was from Cheshire, if my surmise is correct, and in the spring of 1626, that he sent to Milton the second of his preserved Greek epistles. It is headed Θεόδοτος Μίλτωνι Χαιρετον ("Diodati to Milton, greeting."), and is in the same sprightly tone as the first, as follows:

I have no fault to find with my present mode of life, except this alone, that I lack some kindred spirit that can give and take with me in conversation. For such I long....If I could provide myself in addition with a good companion, I mean an educated one and initiated in the mysteries, I should be happier than the King of the Persians....But thou, wonder that thou art, why dost thou despise the gifts of nature ? Why dost thou persist inexcusably in hanging all night and all day over books and literary exercises?... and desist from those researches of yours into the pursuits, and leisures, and indolences of the wise men of old, yourself a martyr to overwork all the while.¹

C

Milton's Letters to Diodati

.... But what I blame you for is, the not keeping your promise of paying me a visit when you left the city;.... Are there in those parts any literati with whom you may play and prattle as we used to do?... I must inform you that in the beginning of autumn I went out of my way to see your brother, in order to learn how you did. And lately when I was accidentally informed in London that you were in town, I instantly hastened to your lodgings; but it was only the shadow of a dream, for you were nowhere to be found. Wherefore as soon as you can do it without any inconvenience to yourself, I beseech you to take up your quarters where we may at least be able occasionally to visit one another;...and am busy in making preparations for my journey.
London Sept. 7, 1637.²

I Ibid.

2

St. John, op. cit. 3. 492-3.

....For the cherishing aliment of a friendship such as this, there is not so much need of letters as of a lively recollection of each other's virtues.... I must inform you, that I cannot help loving you such as you are.... Hence, I feel an irresistible impulse to cultivate the friendship of him who, despising the prejudices and false conceptions of the vulgar, dares to think, to speak, and to be that which the highest wisdom has in every age taught to be the best.... Do you ask what I am meditating? By the help of Heaven, an immortality of fame....I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly ...you will feel it a duty to visit me in my winter quarters.

I

London, Sept. 23, 1637.

D

Milton's Letter to Carolo Deodati

I derived, my dear Charles, from the unexpected receipt of your letter, a pleasure greater than I can express.... But as soon as I came to the passage in which you tell me you had previously sent me three letters which must have been lost, then the simplicity of my joy began to be imbued with grief and agitated with regret... while those who are endeared to me by the closest sympathy of manners, of tastes and pursuits, are almost all withheld from my embrace either by death or an insuperable distance of place; and have for the most part been so rapidly hurried from my sight, that my prospects seem continually solitary and my heart perpetually desolate....I appeal to the tomb of Damon, which I shall ever cherish and revere; his death occasioned the most bitter sorrow and regret, which I could find no more easy way to mitigate than by recalling the memory of those times, when, with those persons, and particularly with you, I tasted bliss without alloy....

My Latin poems I will soon send as you desire.
London, April 21, 1647.²

I

Ibid., p. 494.

2

Ibid., p. 500.

E

Epitaphium Damonis

But me, what will become of me? What faithful comrade will cling to my side, as thou didst, when through the bitter cold of the frost-filled country-sides we went to frighten the hungry wolves from the folds, or when we must needs go far under the steep sun, where the herbs were dying of thirst, to hunt the great lions? Who will solace my day with talk and with singing?

To whom shall I entrust my heart? Who will teach me to assuage my eating cares? Who will cheat the long night with sweet converse, when the mellow pears hiss before the cheery fire, and nuts pop on the hearth, and outside the wild wind makes chaos, storming through the elm-tops?

Or in summer, when the sun is in zenith at noon, . . . who will bring me thy blandishments, thy laughter, thy wit, thy graceful learning?

Now I wander alone through the fields and pastures, all alone now; where the shadows of the branches thicken in the valley, I wait the evening;

Hardly out of a thousand does a man find one congenial spirit; or, if fortune sends one, at last relenting at our prayers, yet, in an hour when we at least expect it, he is snatched from us, leaving eternal loss behind.

that I could part from my sweet companion, could put between him and me so many deep seas, so many mountains and forests, so many rocks and sounding rivers? Ah, if I had stayed, I could at least have touched his hand at the last, closed his dying eyes, and said, 'Farewell, do not forget me as thou goest to the stars.'

Ah, how
many times I said,-aye even when the
urn was holding thy ashes,' Now Damon
is singing or setting traps for the hare.
Now he is plaiting osiers for his various
uses.' ...'If
nothing is to hinder, shall we go lie and
chat a bit in the shade,....thou shalt tell
me what simples are to be found in such
and such a pond, and reveal to me all the
arts of healing.

All these
plans and dreams I was keeping for thee,
under the clinging laurel-bark, these and
more besides.

Go hence, lamentation!
Damon the pure dwells in skies of purity,
...Because thy cheek kept its rosy
blush and thy youth its stainlessness,
because thou knewest not the joy of mar-
riage, lo, for thy virginal spirit virginal
honors are reserved. Thy bright head
crowned with light, and glad palms in thy
hand, thou dost ever act and act again the
immortal nuptials.^I

Lydgate's
 Fall of Princes
 The Story of Samson

And in a vale which callid was Soret
 Ful hoote he loued Dalida the faire,
 On whom his herte was ful sore set,
 She koude hir feyne so meek & debonaire,
 Make hym such cheer whan that hym list repaire.
 But I dar calle hir Dalida the double,
 Cheeff roote & cause off al his mortal trouble.
 He neuer drank wynes whiht nor red,
 Off Nazarees such is the goueraunce;
 Rasour nor sheer touchid neuer his hed,
 For in long growyng stondeth ther plesaunce.
 And this Sampson, most myhti off substauence,
 Hadde al his force be influence off heuene,
 B(y) heris wexyng, that were in noumbrе seuene.
 It was ful secre in euery manys siht,
 Among peopple told for an vnkouth thyng,
 Wheroff Sampson hadde so gret myht,
 Outward shewed bi force off his werkynge.
 But Dalida with hir flateryng
 Wolde neuer stynte, enquiryng euer among,
 Til that she kneuh wherebi he was so strong.

She lich a serpent daryng vnder floures,
 Or lik a werm that wrotith on a tre,
 Or lich an addere off manyfold coloures,
 Riht fressh apperyng and fair vpom to see:
 For shrowdid was hir mutabilite
 With lowliheed(e) and a fair pretense
 Off trewe menyng vnder fals apparence.

He mente trouthe, & she was variable,
 He was feithful, and she was ontrewe,
 He was stedfast, and she was onstable,
 His trust ay oon; she loued thynges newe:
 She wered coloures off many dyuers hewe,
 In stede off bleu, which stedfast is and cleene;
 She loued chaunges off many dyuers greene.

But to the purpos for to condescende,
 Whan she off Sampson kneuh al the preuite,
 Hir falsheed shortli for to comprehende,
 She made hym slepe ful sofftli on hir kne;
 And a sharp rasour afftir that took she,
 Shoof off his her, large and off gret lengthe,
 Wherbi, allas, he loste al his strengthe.

Nothing is worse than a secret enemy, especially if it be one's own wife.

Damage is erthe is non so greuous,
As an enmy which that is secre,
Nor pestilence non so pereilous
As falsnesse where he is preue,
And speciali in femynyte;
For yiff wyues be founden variable,
Wher shal husbondis fynden other stable?

Thus Sampson was be Dalida deceyued,
She coude so weel flatre, forge and feyne,-
Which P hilistes, whan thei ha(ue) conceyued,
Onwarli bond hym in a myhti cheyne,
Cast hym in prisoun, put out his eyen tweyne,
And off despiht, afftir, as I fynde,
At ther queernys maad hym for to grynde.

Thei made a feste statli and solempne,
Whan thei hadde al this tresoun wrouht;
And to rebuke hym, scorne hym & condempne,
Blynde Sampson was aforne hem brouht:
Which thyng ful sore greued hym in his thouht,
Caste he wolde in his preue mynde
Tauenge his blyndnesse sum maner weie fynde.

And whan he hadde thus bethouht hym longe,
He made a child hym preueli to leede
To tweyne postis, large, squar and stronge,
Enbraced hem, or any man took heede,
And gan to shake hem, withoute feer or dreede,
So sturdili among his fomen all,
That the temple is vpon hem fall.
Thus he was auengid on his foon,
Which that falsli dede ageyn hym stryue,
Slouh in his deieng, God wot, many on
Mo than he dede euer aforne his lyue.
And he was also, the date to descruyue,
In Israel, the Bible is myn auctour,^I
Twenti yeer ther iuge and gouernour.

I

Henry Bergen, Lydgate's Fall of Princes, I. 6413-89. Supplied by
Dr. Gilbert.

John Diodati

Chalmers in his Biographical Dictionary gives some additional information on the work of John Diodati:

Diodati (John), a very eminent divine, descended of a noble family of Lucca, was born June 6, 1576; but of his early years we have no information. When, however, he was only nineteen years of age, we find him appointed professor of Hebrew at Geneva. In 1619 the Church of Geneva sent him to the synod of Dort, with his colleague Theodore Tronchin. Diodati gained so much reputation in this synod, that he was chosen with five other divines, to prepare the Belgic confession of faith. He was esteemed an excellent divine, and a good preacher. His death happened at Geneva, Oct. 3, 1649, in his seventy-third year, and was considered as a public loss.

He has rendered himself noticed by some works which he published, but particularly by his translation of the whole Bible into Italian, the first edition of which he published, with notes, in 1607, at Geneva, and reprinted in 1641. The New Testament was printed separately at Geneva in 1608, and at Amsterdam and Haerlem in 1665. M. Simon observes, that his method is rather that of a divine and a preacher, than of a critic, by which he means only, that his work is more of a practical than a critical kind. He translated the Bible also into French, but not being so intimate with that language, he is not thought to have succeeded so well as in the Italian. This translation was printed in folio, at Geneva, in 1664. He was also the first who translated into French father Paul's "History of the Council of Trent", and many have esteemed this a more faithful translation than de la Houssaye's, although less elegant in language. He also is said to have translated Sir Edwin Sandys' book on the "State of Religion in the West." But the work by which he is best known in this Country (England) is his Annotations on the Bible, translated into English, of which the third and best edition was published in 1651, fol. He is said to have begun writing these annotations in 1606, at which time it was expected that Venice would have shakken off the popish yoke, a measure to which he was favourable; and he went on improving them in his editions of the Italian and French translations. This work was at one time very popular in England, and many of the notes of the Bible, called the "Assembly of Divines' Annotations", were taken from Diodati literally.*

* See his letter to this Assembly in the Appendix to Alep. Usher's Life and Letters, p. 14.

Diodati was at one time in England, as we learn from the life of bishop Bedell, whom he was desirous to become acquainted with, and introduced him to Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham. From Morrice's " State Letters of the right hon. the earl of Orrery," we learn that when invited to preach at Venice, he was obliged to equip himself in a trooper's habit, a scarlet cloak with a sword, and in that garb he mounted the pulpit; but was obliged to escape again to Geneva, from the wrath of a Venetian nobleman, whose mistress, affected by one of Diodati's sermons, had refused to continue her connection with her keeper. The celebrated Milton, also, contracted a friendship for Diodati, when on his travels; and some of his Latin elegies are addressed to Charles Diodati, the nephew of the divine. This Charles was one of Milton's most intimate friends, and was the son of Theodore Diodati, who, although originally of Lucca, as well as his brother, married an English lady, and his son in every respect became an Englishman. He was an excellent scholar, and being educated to his father's profession, practised physic in Cheshire. He was at St. Paul's school with Milton, and afterwards, in 1621, entered Trinity College, Oxford. He died in 1638.¹

H.

Giovanni Diodati's visit to England

Masson places the time of Diodati's visit to England after 1625.² Gautier fixes the date after the Assembly of Dordrecht, which opened November 21, 1618.³

That Giovanni was in the home of his brother, Dr. Theodore Diodati, while on his visit to England; and that Milton knew of his visit, and even met the distinguished guest in this home where Milton was a welcome visitor at all times, would be a very reasonable inference.

¹ Alexander Chalmers, Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary, xii, pp. 105-7.

² Op. cit. p. 102.

³ J. A. Gautier, Histoire de Geneve, 7. Supplied by Dr. A. H. Gilbert.

I.

Christ the true Michael

Milton in his representation of the War in Heaven has Christ gain the victory over Satan on the third day, thus proving him the worthy Head of the Angels. The Scriptures in this place say that Michael and his angels fought against the dragon. Diodati says on Rev. I2.7:

There was War) A figurative description of the Devils judgment, renewed by Christ glorified, who hath been made the true Michael, viz. Head of the Angels;

Milton's idea of Christ as Head of the Angels winning the battle could have had its source in the annotations of Diodati in this place.

I

The writer is indebted to Dr. A. H. Gilbert for this suggestion.

J

Edwin Sandys

E. DeBude says:

Jean Diodati traduisit aussi en français et en italien un ouvrage anglais d'Edwin Sandys, intitulé: "Rapport de l'état de religion en Occident." Paolo Sarpi qui avait composé, dit-on, les suppléments de ce livre ne resta pas non plus étranger à sa version, aidant l'interprète dans sa tâche par de nombreux éclaircissements. Quant à la publication de Sandys elle-même, qui parut à Londres en 1605 et sans nom d'auteur chez Simon Waterson, elle avait fait grand bruit en Angleterre, et avait été honorée de l'approbation du roi Jacques.^I

Regarding this work of Sandys we find the following in the Dictionary of National Biography:

In the preparation of this work (*Europae speculum*) Sandys was largely aided by his intercourse with Fra Paolo Sarpi, who subsequently translated it into Italian.... For a long time it remained in manuscript, but on 21 June 1605 it was entered at Stationers' Hall, and published under the title 'A Relation of the State of Religion.' It was printed without the author's consent from a stolen copy of the manuscript, and Sandys is said to have procured an order of the high commission condemning it to be burnt. This was carried out 7 Nov. A copy of the condemned edition in the British Museum contains corrections and additions in the author's handwriting. From this copy an edition was printed after Sandys' death at The Hague in 1629 under the title 'Europae speculum or a view or survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne Parts of the World.' Sarpi's Italian translation, made from the 1605 edition, appeared with some additions in 1625, and in 1626 Diodati translated it with Sarpi's additions into French.

According to DeBude the work of Sandys was written in English, and was translated by Diodati into Italian and French, According to the Dictionary of National Biography the date of the French

I

Op. cit. 9. I 84.

translation was 1626. Milton makes reference to Sandys' works in his Of Reformation in England, and was therefore acquainted with this work.

As Diodati's translation was only thirteen years prior to Milton's visit to Diodati, it is possible that they discussed in English this work during the days of their daily conferences.

I

Prose Works, 2.380.

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